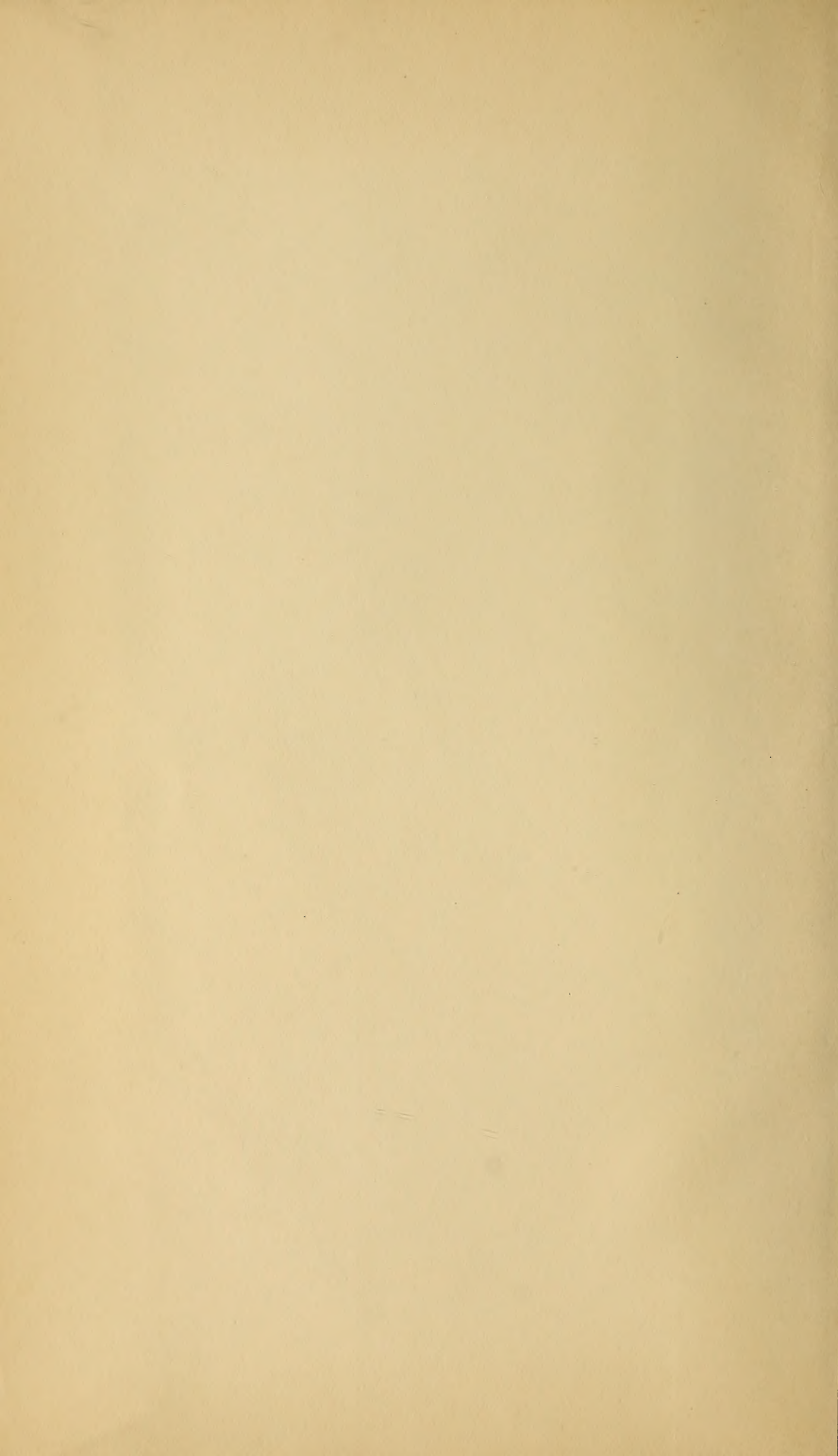
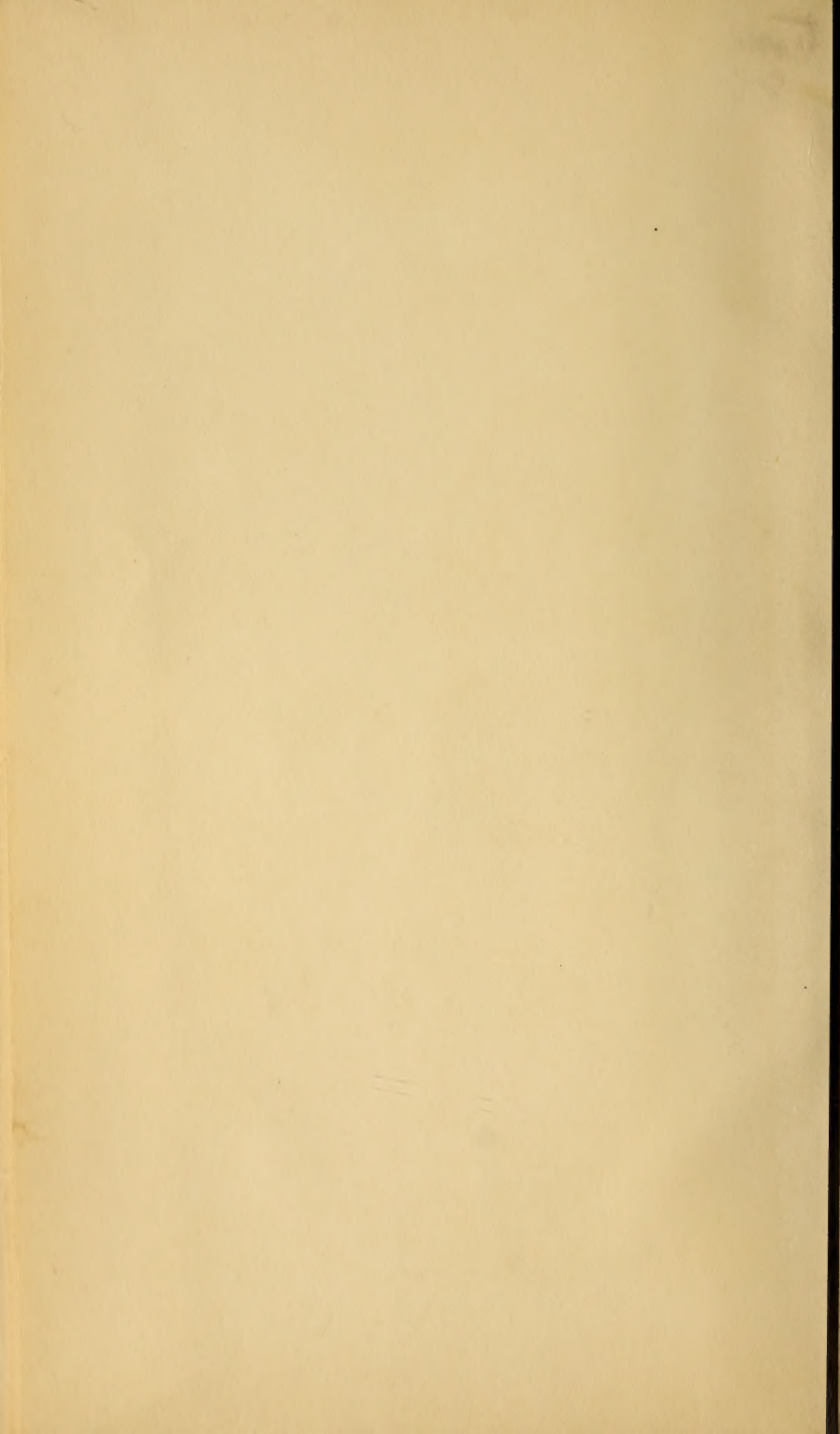


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Manner of catching and slaughtering Bullocks in Paraguay.

HISTORY
OF
THE VICEROYALTY OF
BUENOS AYRES;

CONTAINING
THE MOST ACCURATE DETAILS

RELATIVE TO THE
TOPOGRAPHY, HISTORY, COMMERCE, POPULATION,
GOVERNMENT, &c. &c.

OF THAT VALUABLE COLONY.

BY SAMUEL HULL WILCOCKE.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PLATES.

London:
PRINTED FOR H. D. SYMONDS,
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1807.

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PREFACE.

THE conquest of the important colony, which forms the subject of the present volume, was hailed as a most auspicious event, and excited in the public mind not only a desire to participate in the benefits that might be expected from it in a commercial point of view, but also a wish to be minutely acquainted with every particular relative to the extended regions to which it gives access. Having been engaged in extensive mercantile pursuits, in the course of which he had opportunities of acquiring much interesting information respecting the Spanish colonies in South America, the author conceived he could not better employ some leisure-time which presented itself to him, than in digesting those materials, and combining and arranging them with others already before the public, so as to form a complete and authentic account of those territories, a thorough acquaintance with which was deemed so desirable an object to the statesman, to the merchant, and to the man of letters. He hopes that he will be found to have executed the task he has imposed on himself with some degree of ability, and trusts that his errors of arrangement, or of style, will be forgiven, when he states that, since his undertaking the work, occupations of other kinds have crowded on him in unexpected succession; and that, though at a former period of his life, his pursuits were of a literary turn, they have for several years past

PREFACE.

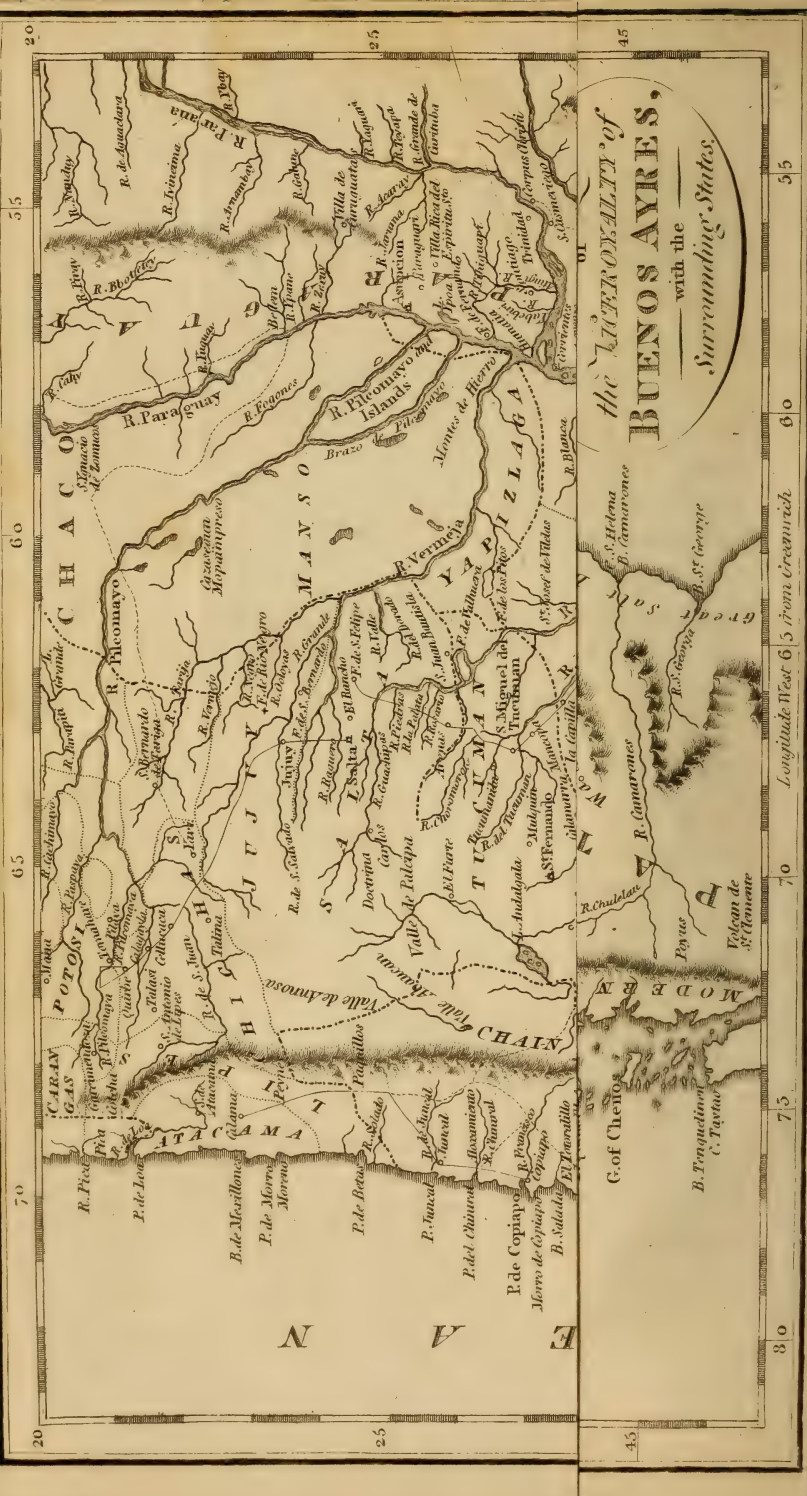
flowed in the channel of commerce, whence he has experienced a deficiency in facility of expression, and fears that he may also be found wanting in propriety of language.

With respect to the accuracy of his work, the author dares not pledge himself for the truth of every particular, where so many sources of various degrees of credibility have, of necessity, been resorted to; but he has exercised his judgment in selecting and arranging them, so as confidently to assert, that what he has written he himself believes to be true. He will feel highly obliged by any communications, either in addition to, or in confirmation or refutation of, any facts stated by him, from such of his countrymen who may visit Buenos Ayres; and having the pleasure of knowing several commercial men who have proceeded thither, he trusts that from the communications he has been promised by them, he will be able to correct such errors into which he may have fallen, in the event of a subsequent edition of his work being called for.

There remains only now for him to express his gratitude for the liberal and friendly aid he has experienced in compiling this work, from gentlemen both of literary and commercial eminence, whose stores of intelligence have been accessible in a degree as flattering to his personal feelings, as it has been conducive to any degree of merit which his performance may be found to possess.

Dec. 20, 1806.





The LITTORALITY of
BUENOS AYRES,
— with the —
Surrounding States.

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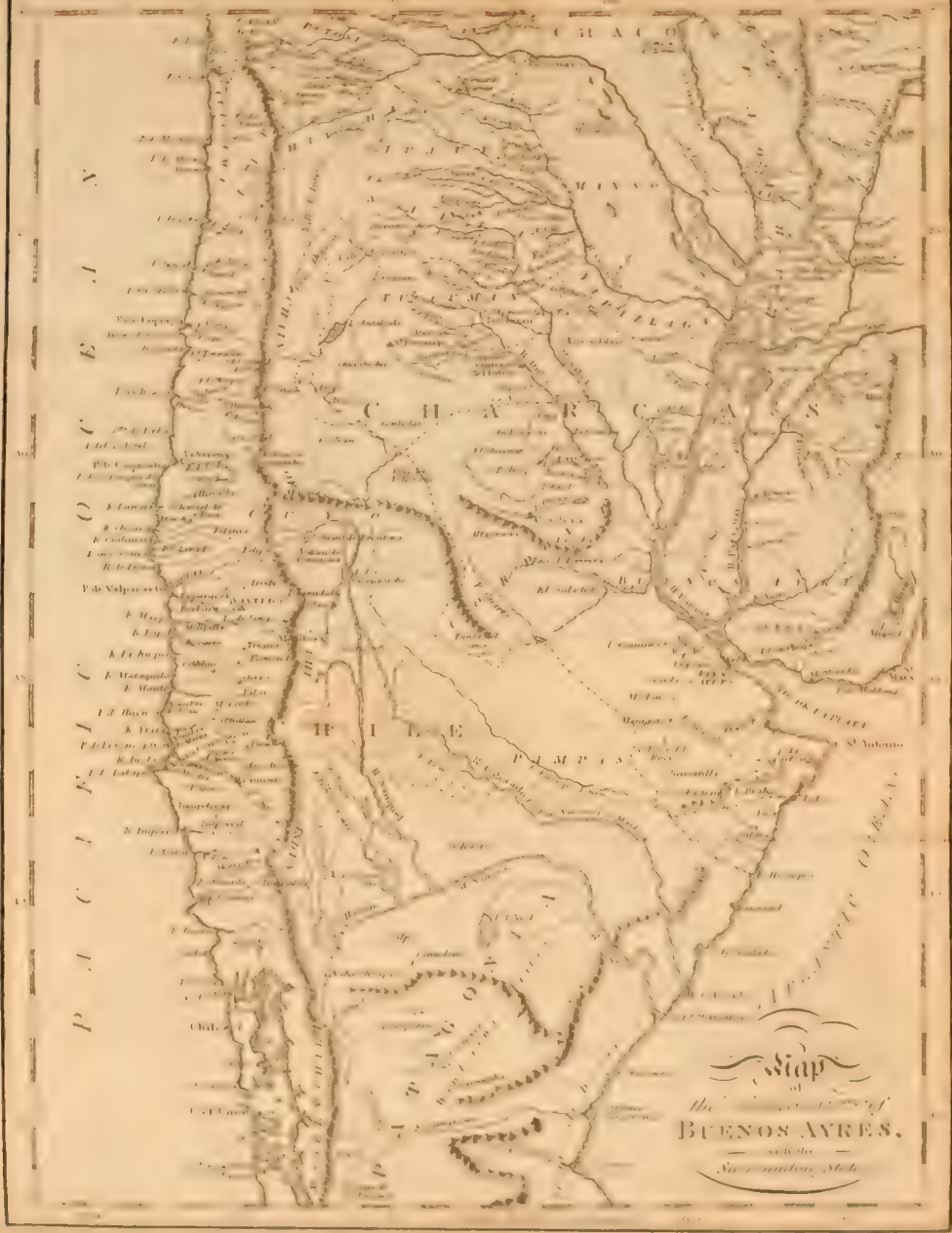
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THE
HISTORY
OF
BUENOS AYRES.

CHAP. I.

Introduction.—Difficulties of acquiring a knowledge of the Spanish colonies.—Outline of the plan pursued in this work.

THE importance and interest attached to those extensive and wealthy territories, that are either actually possessed by, or claimed as appendages to, the crown of Spain, in America, have always been acknowledged ; whilst the want of authentic and accurate information respecting them, has been equally deplored by the man of letters, by the merchant, and by the statesman. The jealousy with which the government of Spain has endeavoured to lock up from the rest of the world every species of information relative to its transatlantic possessions, is well known. Robertson, whose indefatigability of research, as an historian, was equivalent to his abilities as a writer, com-



Map
of
the
Argentine Republic
BUENOS AYRES.
— with the
National Seal —

plains, in the Preface to his History of America, of being foiled in his attempts to obtain from the archives of Spain those documents relative to her colonies, with the contents of which he had formed the most sanguine expectations of being able to enrich his work. The papers regarding America, which are deposited amongst the records of the Spanish monarchy in the *archivo* of Simancas, near Valladolid, one hundred and twenty miles from the seat of government, are stated to be so numerous as to fill the largest apartment in the *archivo*, and to compose eight hundred and seventy-three large bundles. Yet this treasure of historical and colonial knowledge is wholly inaccessible, and no admission into the *archivo* of Simancas is ever granted without a particular order from the king. Some years ago, however, the Spanish government seem to have relaxed, in some degree, from so much of their illiberal system as to have given access to these archives to Don Antonio Munoz, then occupied in compiling a work called an History of the New World. Of this only one volume was completed, and Munoz was interrupted in the prosecution of his work ; which contains some strictures upon the colonial policy of Spain, by which, probably, he gave offence to the council of the Indies. He was debarred from all further access to the necessary documents, and interdicted from publishing any more of his history. Munoz is since dead, and the undertaking has perished with him.

That this system of concealment, than which nothing can be more illiberal, still predominates in the Spanish councils, is proved by a recent instance. The celebrated navigator Malespina, who, from the years 1792 to 1795, was employed by Spain to explore the Pacific Ocean, and her colonies washed by its waves, was, soon after his return to Cadiz, arrested and thrown into prison, as was the *padre Gil*, an ecclesiastic of a liberal and enlightened mind, who had undertaken the compilation of the voyage. All the papers and drawings belonging to the expedition were seized, and the botanists and other men of science, who accompanied Malespina, received orders to suspend their labours. Though part of the narrative was actually printed, the impression was suppressed ; and the details of that interesting voyage are buried, as so many others have before been, amongst the dusty archives, and in the mouldy recesses of the Spanish chancery.

Notwithstanding, however, this superabundant caution, much has been communicated to the public from time to time, respecting the rich and fertile districts of Spanish America, though but imperfectly, at detached periods, and in isolated portions. Whilst, amidst the information thus detailed, the propensity of mankind to the marvellous has been amply gratified by the relation of countries of El Dorado, nations of Amazons, and tribes of Patagonians, the inventions, or exaggerations, of such travellers as have traversed

the interior, or visited the coasts, of South America.

To a nation like the British, eminent in commercial opulence, in colonial grandeur, and in maritime enterprize, and at a conjuncture when the eyes of every one is turned towards South America; an account of the Spanish Dominions in that continent, divested of fable, and faithfully delineated, cannot but be acceptable. And though materials are at hand for a full description of the whole of the countries subjected to the banners of Castile in the other hemisphere, the recent brilliant acquisition by the British forces under General BERESFORD and Sir HOME POPHAM of the very important settlement of Buenos Ayres, renders an account of the extensive viceroyalty to which it gives its name doubly desirable.

This volume, which is compiled from the best sources in various languages, and from manuscript and private information, in the possession of the author, is therefore directed to the consideration of that part of South America which, since the year 1778, has constituted a separate province of Spanish America, under the denomination of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres.

But it is not sufficient to collect materials; it is necessary likewise to give them an arrangement, by which distinct objects may be grouped in perspicuous continuity: and the following plan will be observed, in order to attempt the attainment of a method equally free from abrupt transition, and from confused obscurity:—

After a few preliminary observations respecting the aboriginal population of America, the sources whence it has been conjectured to be derived, and the physical peculiarities of that part of the globe; an enumeration will be given of all the Spanish possessions, and their geographical and political divisions; and the attention of the reader will be more particularly directed to that portion now under consideration. A brief notice of the first discovery of the river La Plata, will be followed by such accounts as have come down to us relative to the appearance, the government, the customs, and the propensities, of the Indians who were found in the country on its first occupation by the Spaniards. Their religion, their language, and their arts, will all pass in review; yet, as in a future part the same particulars, as relating to the unsubdued Indians, bordering upon the Spanish settlements, will come under consideration, the space to be devoted to the aboriginal inhabitants, whose customs, &c. may be supposed to be perpetuated amongst the tribes still existing, will be proportionably curtailed. When treating of these, some details respecting the gigantic race, supposed to inhabit the southern extremity of America, will not be found irrelevant; and it will appear probable that a species of men of more than ordinary stature does certainly exist in those parts, but that their size has been much exaggerated by the reports of those who have been either deceived by the warmth of their imaginations, or infected with

the desire, too prevalent amongst travellers, of deceiving others.

The grand features of the country will form the succeeding object of consideration. The length of course, the impetuous currents, and the wide expanse, of the mighty rivers that water the interior, and unite to form the immense æstuary of La Plata, will be prominent objects. The boundless plains, with their singular lakes, their natural salt-pans, and interminable prospects of verdure and fertility; the stupendous mountains which, towards the western side of the country, rise from gentle eminences into hills, and from hills into the loftiest mountains of the world; with their precipices, their volcanos, their torrents, their mines, and their impenetrable forests, will be successively described; and an account of the various climates, and diversity of soils, to be observed in these extensive regions, will close this chapter.

The natural productions occupy the next place. In the vegetable kingdom, nature has been most lavish to South America; and countless tribes of useful plants and trees, intermingled with a few of deleterious quality, rise, flourish, and decay, little known and less sought after. Of the cultivated articles, little will here be said; as they will be reserved till they come to be considered as objects of agriculture, or materials for commerce. Of the indigenous animals, few are of a ferocious or noxious kind; whilst those imported from the

old continent have multiplied to an incalculable extent, and form one of the principal sources of the riches of Buenos Ayres ; which is testified by the immense quantity of hides annually exported from that emporium, and the acknowledged superiority of their quality above that of all other hides known in trade. The abundance of fish in the rivers, and on the sea-coasts, is a resource of moment ; and the facility with which the whale and seal fisheries may be carried on, is an object of considerable importance. Though there are no mines of gold or of silver in the immediate vicinity of Buenos Ayres, or of the river La Plata, yet the rich and celebrated province of Potosi, formerly a part of Peru, but, from being on the hither side of the mountains of Cordillera, latterly annexed to the jurisdiction of Buenos Ayres, will of course form part of the picture now offered to the public ; and will tend to give some general idea of the wealthy territory to which it was formerly attached.

After having thus given a general account of the country, a short history will be entered into of the first discovery of the river La Plata, of its original settlers, and progressive conquerors ; of the gradual extension of discovery and conquest by which the province of Buenos Ayres came at length to border upon the dominions which the valour and ferocity of Pizarro and his companions had gained for Spain upon the shores of the Great South Sea ; after this will follow a brief account

of the rise, the progress, and the dissolution of the famous establishments of the Jesuits in Paraguay, forming an *imperium in imperio*, unparalleled in the annals of the world. The historical account of the colony will be brought down to the present time, and concluded by a narrative of the late capture of it by the British.

The cities, the harbours, the forts, the settlements, and the missions scattered over the country, will be next described; and proceeding from these to the plains, the agriculture both of the natives and of their Spanish masters, will be noticed, together with their arts and manufactures.

An entire chapter will be devoted to the important subject of commerce. The trade as carried on between Buenos Ayres and Spain; that with Africa; the contraband trade with the Portuguese in Brazil, and with the North Americans who frequent those seas; and the interior commerce between Peru and Chili, and the river La Plata, will be detailed. The various articles that are suited for the consumption of the country, and those produced, or found there calculated for exportation, will be enumerated and described. Sketches will be given of some commercial adventures connected with the colony of Buenos Ayres, proposed to the enterprising spirit of British Merchants; and some latent commercial advantages to be derived from this colony will be pointed out to the nation.

The Spanish colonial government, their civil and military establishments, their fiscal regulations,

the revenues of the colony, &c. will next appear in rotation. The state of society, the manners, the customs, and religious ceremonies, as well of the Spaniards, as of the creoles, the Indians, the negroes, the mulattoes, the mestices, and the infinite ramifications of colour and of cast, arising from the intermixture of these various races, will be followed by an account of those unsubdued Indians, who are occasionally allies or enemies of their European neighbours, and who rove over the trackless plains that extend from Paraguay to the straits of Magellan.

If the limits of the work will admit, it is intended next to introduce succinct accounts of such of the adjacent countries, as, though not included in the political denomination of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, have, nevertheless, natural relations towards it, which make them objects of interest at the present time. Brazil, and the country long called Amazonia in the maps, in which the fabulous region of El Dorado was supposed to exist, on the north; Peru and Chili on the west; and the unexplored districts of Patagonia to the south; with the Falkland islands and others, scattered in the Atlantic ocean, on the east; are those alluded to.

In conclusion, some general reflections will be entered into, as to the advantages to be derived to this country by the possession of Buenos Ayres; of its importance both in peace and in war; of the general policy or impolicy of the extension of co-

lonial acquisition ; of the propriety of attempting further conquests in South America ; and of the results to be expected in a political, a philosophical, and a moral point of view, in case the Spanish empire is rent asunder, and their American possessions, either severed from the metropolitan state by a foreign force, or by internal insurrection, rendered subject to another European power, or raised into independent existence.

CHAP. II.

How America first became peopled—Physical peculiarities of that continent—Spanish dominions—their extent and geographical divisions—Buenos Ayres one of the most extensive and important.

VARIOUS have been the theories and speculations, some wild and fanciful, some ingenious, and a few rational and plausible, which have been promulgated by the learned, respecting the peopling of America. Infidelity long and obstinately looked to the distinct race of human beings that were found in that sequestered portion of the globe, as a proof that the whole of mankind could not have descended, as we are taught by the Mosaic account of the creation, from one common stock.* It was

* Independent of revelation, and reverting solely to natural principles, nothing can be more convincing of the descent of all mankind from one pair, than the cogent and logical arguments of the late Sir William Jones, in his discourse on the origin and families of nations. “That nature, of which simplicity appears a distinguishing attribute, *does nothing in vain*, is a maxim in philosophy, and against those who deny maxims we cannot dispute; but, *it is vain and superfluous, to do by many means what may be done by fewer*; and this is another axiom received into courts of judicature from the schools of philosophers: *we must not therefore*, says our great Newton, *admit more causes of natural things than those which are true, and sufficiently account for natural phenomena*; but, *it is true that one pair, at least, of every living species must at first have been created*; and

the sheet-anchor of scepticism, as to this article of our belief; but it has lost its hold, and since the great proximity of the two continents of Asia and America, at their north-eastern and north-western extremities has been ascertained, multiplied proofs have arisen, that the latter was originally wholly, or for the greatest part, peopled from the former. It will be sufficient to enumerate some of the conjectures formed on this subject to be convinced that it would be a waste of time to employ arguments for their confutation. Some have contended that the Americans are descended from the Antediluvian inhabitants of the earth, and that the destructive deluge, of which Noah and his family are stated to be the sole survivors, did not extend to the western hemisphere, thus preposterously supposing rude, uncivilized tribes, scattered over an uncultivated wilderness, to be the most ancient race on the face of the earth. Some have supposed that America was originally united to the

that one human pair was sufficient for the population of our globe in a period of no considerable length (on the very moderate supposition of lawyers and political arithmeticians, that every pair of ancestors left, on an average, two children, and each of them two more), is evident from the rapid increase of numbers in geometrical progression, so well known to those, who have ever taken the trouble to sum a series of as many terms as they suppose generations of men in two or three thousand years. *It follows that the author of nature created but one pair of our species; yet, had it not been, amongst other reasons, for the devastations which history has recorded of water and of fire, of war, famine, and pestilence, this earth would not now have had room for its multiplied inhabitants."*

old continent, but severed from it, with all its inhabitants, animals, and productions, by some violent concussion of nature, an earthquake, or a deluge. Others have attributed the commencement of its population to the chance aberration of a vessel from the shores of Europe or of Africa, driven by the violence of an easterly wind upon the American coast. There is hardly any nation to which some antiquary has not attributed the honour of peopling America. The ten tribes of Israel, after they were carried into captivity*; the Canaanites, the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, the Greeks, the Scythians, in ancient times, are supposed to have settled in this western world. The Chinese, the Japanese, the Swedes, the Norwegians, the Welsh†, the Spaniards, are said to have sent colonies thither in later times, at different periods, and on various occasions. Though the respective claims of these people rest upon no better foundation than the casual resemblance of some customs, and the supposed affinity between a few words in their different languages, much

* In some old Dutch maps even, the north-west part of America is made to stretch over very near to the land of Jesso, and is called, "Country of the ten tribes of the children of Israel."

† Though there is no degree of probability in the conjecture that the Welsh contributed to the population of America; yet some weight appears due to the testimonies from which a conclusion has been formed that the Welsh prince Madoc discovered that continent about the year 1170. The tradition is popular, and has lately become the subject of an epic poem by Mr. Southey, of considerable, but very unequal, merit.

erudition and more zeal have been employed to little purpose in defence of these various systems.

Late discoveries, however, having determined the actual distance between the two continents, to be no more than thirteen leagues, and that nearly in the middle of the strait which separates them, lie two islands from which both continents may be discerned, it requires no greater latitude of conjecture, or fancifulness of system, to attribute the population of America to the excursions or emigrations of the north-eastern tribes of Asia, than to deduce the original settlement of Britain from the opposite coasts of Gaul. Add to this, that the continents of Asia and America are usually joined together by ice during the winter; and when we further consider the numerous resemblances that have been found to exist, not alone in the manners, or religious rites, (which are vague and imperfect data, from the natural similarity that will arise in the customs and institutions of mankind when placed in similar climates and situations), but also in the physical conformity, physiognomy, mental faculties, and languages, of the inhabitants of both continents at their respective extremities, the most sceptic must acknowledge that no source of equal probability can be resorted to, to account for the population of America, than that here pointed out. It has been stated that neither the annals nor the traditions of nations reach back to those remote ages, in which they took possession of the different countries in

which they are now settled ; and that the people who occupy those regions in America which approach nearest to the ancient continent, are so remarkably rude, that it is altogether vain to search among them for such information as might discover the place whence they came, or the ancestors from whom they are descended. A recent intelligent traveller, however, who has, with persevering assiduity, penetrated to the Pacific Ocean, across the immense continent of North-west America, has collected and detailed the traditions received amongst the Chipewyans, one of the most numerous and most widely dispersed, of the wandering nations that inhabit that country, in which the most evident traces of an Asiatic origin, at an early period after the deluge, are discernable. “ They believe that at the first, the globe was one vast and entire ocean, inhabited by no living creature, except a mighty bird, whose eyes were fire, whose glances were lightning, and the clapping of whose wings was thunder. On his descent to the ocean and touching it, the earth instantly arose, and remained on the surface of the waters. This omnipotent bird then called forth all the variety of animals from the earth.* This tradition proceeds to relate, that the great bird having finished his work, made an arrow, which was to be preserved with great

* Compare this with the Mosaic account of the creation :—
“ And the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the spirit of God moved upon the waters.” Genesis, c. i. 2. *et seq.*

care, and to remain untouched, but that the Chipe-wyans were so devoid of understanding as to carry it away, and the sacrilege so enraged the great bird, that he has never since appeared.* They have also a tradition that they originally came from another country, inhabited by very wicked people, and had traversed a great lake, which was narrow, shallow, and full of islands, where they had suffered great misery, it being always winter with ice and deep snow. They believe also that in ancient times their ancestors lived till their feet were worn out with walking and their throats with eating.† They describe a deluge when the waters spread over the whole earth, except the highest mountains, on the tops of which they preserved themselves.” *Introduction to Mackenzie’s Travels*, p. CVIII.

But although it appears probable that the major part of the inhabitants of America are derived from Tartar, or other Asiatic, origin, it is no less obvious that an intercourse between our continent and America might be carried on with facility from the north-west extremities of Europe. As early as the ninth century the Norwegians discovered Greenland, and planted colonies there. Greenland is separated from America by a very narrow strait; the Esquimaux of Labrador per-

* This appears to be an imperfect tradition of the original interdiction of the apple, and the infringement of it by man.

† A tradition that seems to denote a recollection of antediluvian longevity.

fectly resemble the Greenlanders in their aspect, dress, and mode of living; and a Moravian missionary, well acquainted with the language of Greenland, having visited the country of the Esquimaux, found, to his astonishment, that they spoke the same language with the Greenlanders. Though it is thus therefore to be conceded that the Esquimaux are, in all probability, descendants of the northern Europeans, yet, as they are the only people in America who bear any resemblance, either in their aspect or character, to their supposed progenitors, it is to them only that that ancestry can be ascribed. There is such a striking similarity amongst all the other inhabitants of America, from the southern confines of Labrador to Cape Horn, in their corporeal forms, and their mental qualities, that, notwithstanding the varieties occasioned by the influence of climate or the unequal progress of improvement, they must be pronounced to be descended from one stock. It is farther remarkable, that in every peculiarity which characterises the Americans, they have some resemblance to the tribes scattered over the north-east of Asia, but almost none to the nations settled in the northern parts of Europe. The Asiatic emigrants seem therefore to have dispersed in every direction, and to have spread themselves gradually over the whole of America. This account of the progress of its population coincides also with the traditions of the Mexicans concerning their own origin. According to them, their

ancestors came from a remote country, situated to the north-west of Mexico. They point out the various stations as they advanced from this into the interior provinces, and it is precisely the same route which they must have pursued if they had been emigrants from Asia. In describing the appearance of their progenitors, their manners and habits of life at that period exactly delineate those of the rude Tartars, from whom they are here supposed to have sprung.

Leaving, however, this subject of conjecture and of controversy, the physical peculiarities of the new continent next attract our attention. Nature seems here to have carried on her operations upon a larger scale, and with a bolder hand. The mountains in America are much superior in height to those in the other divisions of the globe. The stupendous ridge of the Andes, no less remarkable for extent than elevation, rises, in different places, more than one third above the pike of Teneriffe, the highest land in the ancient hemisphere.—The rivers,

——to whose dread expanse

Continuous depth, and wondrous length of course

Our floods are rills,

defy all comparison with the streams of the ancient continent. The Mississippi and St. Lawrence, in the northern, and the Maragnon, or Amazon, the Oronoco, and the Plata, in the southern portions of the new world, flow in such spacious channels, that, long before they feel the influence

of the tide, they resemble arms of the sea, rather than rivers of fresh water.

The new world is of a form extremely favourable to commercial intercourse, and possesses the same advantages for maritime communication as the other hemisphere, without the intervening inconvenience of solid masses of continent unbroken by arms of the sea, and with few navigable rivers, such as present themselves in the immense peninsula of Africa, and the extended regions of Tartary and Siberia. The Gulph of Mexico may be considered as the counterpart of the Mediterranean, opening a maritime commerce with all the fertile countries by which it is encircled; the West-India islands are inferior in number, in magnitude, and in value, only to those in the Indian Archipelago; and if ever the progress of culture and of population should mitigate the extreme rigour of the climate in the more northern districts of America, Hudson's Bay, and its extensive inlets, may become as conducive to commercial intercourse in that quarter of the globe as the Baltic is in Europe. But in the facilities for interior water-communication, both the northern and the southern portions of America have no parallel in the other hemisphere. The chain of lakes and navigable rivers in North America have already been made subservient to an extended commerce. The interior parts of South America, which is encompassed on every side by the sea, except one narrow neck which divides the Atlantic

from the Pacific Ocean, are rendered accessible by a number of large rivers, fed by so many auxiliary streams, flowing in such various directions, that, almost without any aid from the hand of industry and art, an inland navigation might be carried on from the river La Plata to the gulph of Darien.

But what most distinguishes America from the other parts of the earth, is the peculiar temperature of its climate. It is cold that predominates; and the rigour of the frigid zone extends over half of those regions which should be temperate by their position. Countries, where the grape and the fig should ripen, are buried under snow for one half of the year; and lands, situated in the same parallel with the most fertile and best cultivated parts of Europe, are chilled by perpetual frosts. Yet this circumstance, though unfavourable to the extremities, is of singular benefit to the middle regions, of America, and especially to those now more particularly under consideration. The cold, so generally prevalent in the new world, mitigates the fervour of the torrid zone; and, whilst the negro on the coast of Africa, is scorched with unremitting heat, the inhabitants of Peru, of Paraguay, and of Buenos Ayres, breathe a genial and temperate air, considerably milder than in those countries of Asia and Africa which lie in the same latitudes.

Various causes combine to produce this predominance of cold in the American hemisphere. The principal permanent one seems to be the ex-

tension of the land so much nearer towards the arctic pole than the shores of Europe and of Asia; whence the cold north-westerly winds, passing over a dreary, elevated, and frozen country, acquire a piercing keenness which they retain in their progress through warmer climates. But history and experience likewise teach us, that in proportion as population and cultivation increase in new lands, the rigours of the climate abate; and those countries which ancient writers have represented as scarcely habitable from the cold and inhospitable aspects they presented, are now the seats of mighty empires and of potent kingdoms. It is therefore probable that the same effect will, as far as it may not be counteracted by insuperable physical causes, follow upon the progressive improvement which is taking place in Canada and the United States of America; and that the posterity of the present inhabitants will read, with some degree of incredulity, the accounts we transmit to them of the intense cold prevalent in their country when first settled.

Quitting now the field of speculative discussion, it will first be proper to give a general geographical idea of the whole of the Spanish dominions in America.—These consist, in North America, of

EAST and WEST FLORIDA, computed to be about six hundred miles in breadth, and about one hundred and thirty in length. The chief

town, *St. Augustine*, is situated in latitude 30° N. and longitude 81° W. from London.*

MEXICO, or NEW SPAIN. The viceroyalty of Mexico formerly comprized the *Floridas*, and the Spanish West-India islands of *Cuba*, *St. Domingo*, and *Porto Rico*. Of these islands, however, the first and the last are now under the distinct government of a president and captain-general, resident at the Havannah, and amenable solely to the royal authority at Madrid; whilst the portion which the Spaniards possessed of *St. Domingo* or *Hispaniola*, after having been ceded to France, now forms part of that political phenomenon, the Black empire of Hayti. The *Floridas*, however, still depend on Mexico, as did the province of Louisiana before those arrangements took place by which it has successively been transferred to France and to the United States of America.

The whole of *Mexico*, which is subdivided into *Old Mexico*, *New Mexico*, and *California*, is computed to be two thousand one hundred miles in length, and one thousand six hundred in breadth. The capital of the whole, the ancient and celebrated city of Mexico, is situated in latitude $20^{\circ} 0'$ N. and longitude $102^{\circ} 35'$ W. Its other chief towns

* The *Floridas*, though originally discovered, and first settled, by the Spaniards, have more than once changed masters. A treaty is supposed to be on foot at present, between the United States of America and Spain, for the transfer of them to the former, to which their geographical situation seems more appropriately to assign them.

are *Acapulco*, *Vera Cruz*, and *Guatimala*, in Old Mexico ; *Santa Fé*, in New Mexico, and *Monterey* at the northern extremity of California.

Of South America, it is to be observed, that the Spaniards claim the whole of that continent, with the exception of the Portuguese settlements in Brazil, and the narrow slips occupied by the French, and the late Dutch, settlements on the coast of Guiana. They are far, however, from having the actual possession of all they claim ; and the *Indios bravos*, or unconquered Indians, still retain a large portion of the territory of their ancestors.

The Spanish possessions in South America were formerly wholly under the government of the viceroy of Peru ; but the remote provinces suffered great inconvenience from their distance from the seat of government, a communication with which was, in some instances, obliged to be kept up for hundreds of miles through trackless forests, and countries imperfectly explored. Some provinces lay above two thousand miles from Lima, the residence of the viceroy ; and neither could justice be distributed, or succour afforded, to the inhabitants of districts so distant from the royal audience and the military council. To remedy these evils, another viceroyalty was established in 1718, at *Santa Fé de Bagota* in the kingdom of *New Grenada* ; the government of which extended over the provinces of *Quito*, *Popayan*, *Choco*, and all those known under the appellation of *Terra Firma*,

or *Castilla del Oro*. So vast, however, is the extent of Spanish America, that fresh subdivisions were found necessary. In 1731, the provinces of *Venezuela*, *Macaraibo*, *Varinas*, *Cumanà*, and *Spanish Guiana*, or *New Andalusia*, were separated from the kingdom of New Grenada, and put under the jurisdiction of a captain-general and president, whose seat of government is at Caraccas, and who is independent of all other authority but that of the king. The kingdom of Chili was also erected into a separate captain-generalship; and in 1778, a fourth viceroyalty was established at Buenos Ayres; comprehending all the Spanish possessions to the east of the western Cordillera,* and to the south of the river Maragnon.

The following sketch, therefore, commencing at the northern part of South America, and proceed-

* There are three chains of mountains that run from north to south, through South America, and are called by the Spaniards *Cordilleras*. First, that of Brazil, which, commencing nearly under the equator, runs to the Sierra or mountainous territory of Maldonado, on the northern shore of the Plata. Secondly, the eastern one of Peru, which, originating in the mountains of Sta. Martha, runs towards the tropic, whence it takes an inclined direction towards the south-east, and terminates in the plains of the Gran Chaco. Thirdly, the western one, which, proceeding from North America, through the isthmus of Darien, ranges along the whole of the western coast to Cape Horn. The name of *Andes*, which has been extended to both the Cordilleras of Peru, and to the whole southern range, is derived from the name of a nation, the *Antis*, situated to the east of Cusco, and between the two ridges, subjugated by the Incas of Peru, who thence gave that name to the adjacent mountains.

ing in geographical progression, will be found to present the actual state of the Spanish dominions in that portion of the globe:—

I. The Captain-generalship or presidency of CARACCAS; extending nearly eight hundred miles in length, from east to west, and to about five hundred miles of medium breadth from north to south. It is bounded on the east by the settlements which lately belonged to the Dutch in Guiana; to the south it is in part presumed to extend to the banks of the river Maragnon; and in part bounded by the kingdom of New Grenada, which forms its western boundary; whilst the waters of the Gulph of Mexico wash its northern shores.

It comprehends the provinces of

VENEZUELA; chief towns, *Caraccas*, the capital, in latitude $10^{\circ} 10' N.$ and longitude $67^{\circ} 20' W.$; *La Guira*, *Porto Cavallo*, *Valencia*, *Coro*, and *Corora*.

CUMANA; chief towns, *Cumana*, in latitude $10^{\circ} 37' N.$; *Cariaco*, *Barcelona*, and *Conception del Pao*.

The island of MARGARETTA: in latitude $10^{\circ} 56' N.$ and between 65° and 66° of *W.* longitude.

MARACAIBO; chief towns, *Maracaibo* and *Gibraltar*.

VARINAS; chief town, *Varinas*. And

SPANISH GUIANA, or NEW ANDALUSIA; chief town, *St. Thomas*, on the Oronoco.

II. The viceroyalty of NEW GRENADA ; length about one thousand miles from north to south, and medium breadth about six hundred miles from east to west. It is bounded on the north, by the Gulph of Mexico, on the east, by those provinces that have been separated from it, as before observed, to constitute the presidency of Caraccas, and by the unexplored regions on the banks of the Maragnon and Oronoco, on the south, by Peru, and on the east, by the Pacific sea and the province of Veragua, part of the kingdom of Mexico.

Its subdivisions are

NEW GRENADA ; chief towns, *Santa Fé de Bogotá*, the capital, in latitude $3^{\circ} 35' \text{ N.}$ and longitude 73° W. ; *Pampeluna*, *Truxillo*, *Tucuyo*, and *Merida*.

RIO DE LA HACHA ; chief town, *Rio de la Hacha*, in latitude $11^{\circ} 6' \text{ N.}$ and long. $72^{\circ} 20' \text{ W.}$

SANTA MARTHA ; chief town, *Santa Martha*, in latitude $11^{\circ} 35' \text{ N.}$ and longitude $74^{\circ} 12' \text{ W.}$

CARTHAGENA ; chief town, *Carthagená*, in latitude $10^{\circ} 30' \text{ N.}$ and longitude $75^{\circ} 25' \text{ W.}$

CHOCO ; chief town, *Bonaventura*, in latitude $3^{\circ} 30' \text{ N.}$

POPAYAN ; chief town, *Popayan*, in latitude $2^{\circ} 40' \text{ N.}$ and longitude $74^{\circ} 35' \text{ W.}$ And

QUITO ; chief towns, *Quito*, in latitude $0^{\circ} 20' \text{ S.}$ and longitude 77° W. ; *Zamora*, *Paita*, and *Guyaquil*.

III. The Viceroyalty of PERU, extending about thirteen hundred miles from north to south, and

in medium breadth nearly three hundred miles from east to west. The river Guyaquil divides it from New Grenada on the north; the depopulated territory of Atacama separates it from Chili on the south; the Pacific Ocean forms the western line of its coasts; and the mountains of the Cordillera, with desert or unexplored countries, are its boundaries on the east.

It is subdivided into the provinces of

LIMA, or LOS REYES; chief towns, *Lima*, the capital, in latitude $12^{\circ} 6' S.$ and long. $77^{\circ} 15' W.$; *Callao*, the port of Lima; *Cusco*, the ancient capital of the Incas; and *Truxillo*. And

AREQUIPA; chief town, *Arica*, in latitude $18^{\circ} 27' S.$ and longitude $70^{\circ} 20' W.$

IV. The captain-generalship of CHILI, or CHILE. In length, about one thousand two hundred miles from north to south, and in medium breadth about two hundred and fifty miles from east to west. Like Peru, which it adjoins to the north, it is bounded by the great South Sea on the west, and on the east by the range of the southern *Cordillera*, (the province of Chiquito, beyond the mountains, which formerly made part of it, now appertaining to the government of Buenos Ayres); whilst to the south lie those inhospitable and unexplored regions of Patagonia which stretch beyond the islands of Chiloe.

There are two provinces of Chili:

ST. JAGO, or CHILI PROPER; chief towns, *St. Jago*, the capital, in latitude $33^{\circ} 12' S.$ and longi-

tude $69^{\circ} 40'$ W.; *Valparaiso*; *La Serena*, or *Cochinbo*; and *Copiapo*. And

CONCEPTION, or IMPERIAL; chief towns, *Conception*, in latitude $36^{\circ} 20'$ S. and longitude $73^{\circ} 15'$ W.; *Imperial*; *Baldivia*; and *Villa Rica*. And

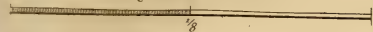
V. The Viceroyalty of BUENOS AYRES; which is the most extensive, as well as, in many respects, the most important, of all. It extends in a direct line from Cape Lobos, which may be taken as its southern boundary, to the farthest northern settlements on the Paraguay, upwards of sixteen hundred miles; and from Cape St. Anthony, at the mouth of the Plata to the ridge of mountains that separate it from Chili, nearly one thousand miles. By the union to it of the provinces of Charcas and Chiquito, it forms a compact body of land, nearly square; and stretches through all the variety of climates to be found in six and twenty degrees of latitude. Its general boundaries are, Amazonia, or the country of the independent Indians of the river Amazon and its vicinity, on the north; Brazil and the Atlantic Ocean on the east; Patagonia on the south; and Peru and Chili on the east.

The provinces of which this viceroyalty is composed, are

BUENOS AYRES, or RIO DE LA PLATA, of which the chief towns are, *Buenos Ayres*, the capital, in latitude $34^{\circ} 35'$ S. and longitude $57^{\circ} 24'$ W.; *Santa Fé*; *Montevideo* and *Maldonado*, on the opposite shores of the river.

Plan of the CITY of BUENOS AYRES

One Quarter of a Mile



Road to Merlo and Lujan

RIO

D E

L A

P T A T A

Good Anchorage

The
Parade



Market

REFERENCES.

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| A. Cathedral | F. Hospital |
| B. Com ^y of Mercy | G. Bishops House |
| C. Town House | H. Jesuits before the Expulsion |
| D. Franciscan Friars | L. St. John's Church |
| E. Dominican D ^o | K. Prison |

R. Retencio

Note: scale varies.

(111)

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PARAGUAY, including the subdivisions, or separate provinces of *Parana*, *Guiara*, and *Uragua*; chief town, *Assumption*, in latitude $24^{\circ} 47'$ S. and longitude $59^{\circ} 35'$ W.

TUCUMAN; chief towns, *San Jago del Estero*, in latitude $27^{\circ} 40'$ and longitude 65° ; and *Cordova*.

LOS CHARCAS, or *Potosi*, formerly part of Peru; and comprehending the new district of *Santa Cruz de la Sierra*; chief towns, *La Plata*, in latitude $19^{\circ} 33'$ S. and longitude $65^{\circ} 30'$ W. *Potosi*, *Santa Cruz de la Sierra*, and *La Paz*. And

CHIQUEITO, or *Cuyo*, formerly part of Chili; chief towns, *Mendoza*, in latitude $34^{\circ} 20'$ S. and longitude $68^{\circ} 25'$ W.; and *San Juan de la Frontera*.

This short abstract of the whole of the Spanish South American possessions, will afford an idea of their immense extent, and of the incalculable consequence of the acquisition of Buenos Ayres; which, with the rivers that unite to form the grand entrance called the Rio de la Plata, and the other settlements in its vicinity, afford an inlet to nearly the whole of the remainder, and may be considered as the keys of all the vaunted treasures of South America. To that settlement, therefore, and its dependencies will the attention of the reader, it is to be hoped not unprofitably, be directed in the following pages.

CHAP. III.

Of the original inhabitants of Paraguay—Their bodily constitution—Mental faculties—Domestic and political state—Warfare—Agriculture and arts—Religious ceremonies, and detached customs.

THE accounts that have been transmitted to us of the original inhabitants of South America, are, in a great measure, vague, and imperfect. The adventurers, both Spaniards and Portuguese, who first visited the new continent, and who had opportunities of observing its various tribes whilst intire, and unsubdued, and before any change had been made in their ideas or manners by an intercourse with their new visitors, were by no means calculated to observe, or to record, the animated scene of novelty that passed too transiently before them. Mostly illiterate and ferocious, seeking with avidity, those treasures alone of gold and silver that dazzled the eyes of all Europe, and at the same time filled with a barbarous enthusiasm for the extermination of infidels, they felt not the inclination; and surrounded by incessant danger, and struggling with innumerable hardships; they had not the leisure, requisite for speculative inquiry, or circumstantial description. But not only their incapacity, but also the prejudices of

the Spaniards, render their accounts of the people of America very defective. Nor must we with more implicit credence than we give to the early conquerors of America, rely upon the subsequent relations, of soldiers, traders, buccaneers, and missionaries. Though these obstacles, therefore, lie in the way of such as would inquire into the original state of the Americans, when we compare former relations with the observations of more recent and more intelligent travellers, as to the present state of those Indians that yet retain their independence, as correct an idea perhaps may be formed of the aborigines of South America, as circumstances will admit.

Though the Spaniards discovered two nations in America, the Mexicans and the Peruvians, who were considerably advanced in the arts of civilized life, and formed states, whose potency and renown, were not only celebrated through the new world, but have been deemed subjects of comparison with the mightiest empires of ancient times ; the greater part of the South American Indians, and particularly the inhabitants of those countries we are describing, are represented as rude and uncivilized tribes, wild and ferocious cannibals ; addicted, by the accounts of the missionaries, to the grossest vices, with few notions of religion, and though possessed of many of the virtues inherent to the state of a savage, yet, in general, destitute of the usual characteristic of such, hospitality. But, ferocious and untameable as they

are represented, how shall we reconcile such accounts to the tractability and voluntary submission, of so many tribes of them to the mild and patriarchal government of the Jesuits in Paraguay? With the feelings common to the human race, they doubtless resisted violence and oppression; whilst the empire of reason and humanity soon obtained its due sway over them, when clothed in the garments of persuasion and insinuation.

Three centuries have now nearly elapsed since the river La Plata was first discovered, and access to the countries watered by its various branches, opened to the avidity of Europeans. It was in the year 1516, that Juan de Solis first entered the river, and in the year 1526, that the first settlement was made by Sebastian Cabot; but as the particulars of these events will come more properly under the head of history, the dates are merely noticed in this place, that the portraits here given of the Indians at that time, may not be confounded with the altered traits to be delineated, when their present situation is discussed.

The corporeal constitution of the Americans in general is described as inferior to that of the other nations of the globe; feeble and unnerved, though of a full size, strait, and well-proportioned; and their mental abilities have been supposed to be congenial to their bodily conformity. The colour common to the whole race of man in the new world from Hudson's Bay to Terra del Fuego, is a copper-colour or reddish brown, much less diver-

sified by the influence of climate, than the complexion of the various inhabitants of the old continent; and where any diversity appears, it is not in proportion to their distance from the equator, but according to the degrees of elevation of the territory which they inhabit. Their hair is black, long, coarse, and uncurred. It has been an opinion generally received that they have naturally no beards, and the want of this symbol of virility has been considered as a mark of degradation, and an effect of the same causes that rendered their frames less robust, their minds less active, and their animal desire less fervent, than those of the other races of mankind. But it has recently been doubted, whether this is not an artificial conformity; and those best acquainted with Indian habits and customs, assert, that it arises from the eradication, at the earliest appearance, of every hair on the chin. How much the constant observance of this custom, in the course of ages, might produce a physical deficiency or thinness of beard in a whole race, is left for physiologists to discuss. But it does not now appear in that distinctive light, in which the beardless countenances and smooth skins of the Americans were considered, at their first discovery.

But a disquisition as to the causes that may have produced such varieties in the human race, as perhaps, have improperly been described as characteristic of the Americans alone, whilst active observation might probably find them existing in other

parts of the globe, in Asia, and the numerous islands of the south sea, would lead to an extent that is incompatible with the plan of this work. It must suffice, therefore, to describe the original Indians of Paraguay and the plains of La Plata, as they have been represented by the early navigators who visited the coasts, and the conquerors who traversed and laid waste the interior of the country.

Though, in general, they were of middling stature, it was no uncommon thing to find individuals amongst them of extraordinary size, and some tribes are stated to have been found rising to an almost gigantic height. Occasion will be taken in another place to animadvert on the various accounts that have been given of those men of extraordinary bulk, who have, under the denomination of Patagonians, embellished the narratives of travellers, and given ample scope to the ratiocinations of philosophers. One tribe, the *Caaiquas*, is said to have been, almost all, hump-backed and bownecked, whilst their women were nearly as white as the Spaniards; and though in general thick legs and joints predominated, another tribe was known by the Indian appellation of *Suripchaquins*, which signifies ostrich-feet, because their legs had no calf, and their feet all to the heels, resembled those of the ostrich. Hence, they were remarkably swift-footed; indeed all the Indians possessed great powers of agility, and surprising feats of pedestrian exertion, both as to

speed, and length of course, are recorded of them. The general character of their countenance is described to be, a very small forehead, covered with hair towards its extremities, as far as the middle of the eyebrows; eyes, black or hazel, small, but capable of discerning objects at a great distance; a thin nose, small, and bending towards the upper lip; lips thick, and ears large; the face upon the whole, round, and farther removed, perhaps, than that of any other people, from an oval shape; at the first aspect a South American appears to be mild and innocent, but on a more attentive view, something wild, distrustful, and sullen may be discovered in his countenance,

The limited state of the intellectual faculties of the Americans, so much insisted on by writers, as a proof of their inferiority in the scale of human beings, seems, upon a closer investigation, to be nothing more than the natural result of their unimproved and uncivilized situation. The Mexicans and the Peruvians are striking examples of their capacity to emerge from their otherwise general ignorance and imbecility; for though the relations of the magnificence, the arts, and the civilization of those nations are often exaggerated, and sometimes fabulous, enough remains to prove their title to a distinguished place in the history of man, and their present descendants, if not held in the severest and depressive bondage by the Spaniards, would be found capable of as much, or greater, exertion of intellect than their oppressors.

In situations where no extraordinary efforts, either of ingenuity or labour, are requisite in order to satisfy the simple demands of nature, the powers of the mind continue almost dormant and unexercised. The numerous tribes scattered over the rich plains of South America, came under this description. Their vacant countenances and inexpressive eyes, their listless inattention and total ignorance of subjects, which seem to be the first which should occupy the thoughts of rational beings made such impression upon the Spaniards, when they first beheld these rude people, that they could not believe that they belonged to the human species, and it required the authority of a papal bull to counteract the opinion, and to convince them that the Americans were entitled to the privileges of humanity.

Contradictory accounts have reached us of the dispositions of the Indians of Paraguay. In one place they are represented as naturally stupid, cruel, and inconstant; treacherous, excessively voracious, and cannibals; addicted to drunkenness, and void of all manner of foresight or precaution, even in the most indispensable concerns of life; lazy and indolent beyond expression; and, excepting a few, whom the lust of plunder or revenge, had rendered rather furious than brave, most of them were deemed as cowardly as they were impotent. In another, some of them are said to have been found possessed of great penetration and judgment, to be lovers of truth, harmless and

sincere, and to be easily reconciled to labour; whilst the Spaniards, in many instances, found that they could defend the land of their inheritance, with an obstinacy and bravery that reluctantly yielded to the superior discipline and more destructive weapons of their invaders, and repeatedly retaliated their injuries upon their oppressors.*

Drunkenness is a destructive vice for which the savage tribes of North America are indebted to their European visitors, the poison of whose spirituous liquors is rapidly disseminating extinction amongst them. But throughout South America, it is not an imported, but an indigenous, propensity. They prepared a fermented and inebriating liquor called Chica, which still forms the favourite beverage of all the native tribes, and which will be described in another place, anterior to their discovery; and both their scenes of festivity, and their clamorous mournings, were respectively enlivened and dissipated by the most brutal intoxication.

The gratification of the sexual appetite, though less a physical necessity amongst the Americans, than in the ardent African, the luxurious Hindoo, or even the polished European; was not restricted by many bands of decency or decorum, and nei-

* Father Osorio, speaking of some of the Indians, expressed his surprise at the nobleness of their sentiments, the politeness of their manners, the sprightliness of their genius, the penetration of their understanding, the modesty of their behaviour, the prudence of their conduct, and their great bravery.

ther virgin nor conjugal chastity were objects of estimation. Their feelings and habits in this respect, naturally lead to a consideration of their domestic state. In most instances, the man confined himself to one wife, whilst in some tribes polygamy was practised, and in all, the caciques or chiefs were allowed a greater latitude in this respect, than their subjects. In none, however, was the marriage-union considered as a permanent and inviolable engagement; natural levity, and the desire of variety, prompted frequent dissolutions of the slight bands by which the sexes were held together, and in all cases, the woman suffered by the operation of this custom. The degradation of the sex rendered prostitution amongst the unmarried females, neither a crime nor a disgrace; and amongst some tribes, even pregnancy previous to marriage was considered an essential requisite, as indicating that quality of fecundity which was the purpose of the union. In the article of matrimonial fidelity, as the men were not nice, so were the women not scrupulous. A sound beating of the offending wife, or a conciliatory present from the detected gallant, generally obliterated the recollection of an indiscretion; whilst it was not uncommon for them to give up their wives to the temporary possession of others, and sometimes, at the command of their jugglers or wizards, to send their wives into the woods to prostitute themselves, from motives of superstition, to the first persons they met.

In proportion as the bands of conjugal union are loose, will the tenderness of parental, and the obedience of filial, affection be relaxed. The severe labour and heavy burthens imposed upon the weaker sex, made artificial abortion and infanticide of frequent recurrence; and though some attention was bestowed in educating the boys, for the manly occupations of hunting and of warfare, it seems to have been more the care of the community in general, than of the individual parents; whilst, conscious of their own liberty and impatient of restraint, the youth were accustomed to act as if wholly independent. Their parents were not objects of greater regard than other persons; they treated them always with neglect, and often with such harshness and insolence, as to fill those who were witnesses of their conduct with horror.

Though some tribes wandered through their forests, with little other covering than the most relaxed modesty seemed absolutely to require, and others in a complete state of nudity; a few displayed considerable ingenuity in the fabrication of garments, though uncouth, adapted to their wants, and though fanciful, calculated to meet their ideas of ornament. The skins of animals formed into cloaks, aprons, hats, and boots, of rude manufacture, constituted the basis of their dress; and feathers, shells, and berries, with some trinkets of silver and of copper, procured from their more civilized neighbours in Peru, were the

trappings of martial parade, or the decorations of female coquetry.

The political state of savages depends, in a great measure, upon their modes and means of subsistence. In South America, several tribes were found dependent entirely upon the bounty of nature.—The *Caiquas*, the *Moxos*, and others, were unacquainted with every species of cultivation. The spontaneous produce of the earth, the roots, the fruits, the berries, and the seeds, which they gathered in the woods or on the plains, together with lizards and other reptiles, which multiply amazingly with the heat of the climate in a fat soil, moistened by frequent rains and abundant inundations, supplied them with food during some part of the year. At other times, they subsisted by fishing; and nature seems to have indulged the indolence of the South American tribes, by the liberality with which she ministers, in this way, to their wants. The vast rivers of this region abound with an infinite variety of fish. The lakes and marshes, formed by the annual overflowing of the waters, are filled with their different species, where they remain shut up, as in natural reservoirs, for the use of the inhabitants; and in some places they swarm in such shoals, that they are caught without either art or industry. In some parts, however, hunting was the favourite occupation, and the principal resource for the provisions of the inhabitants; and in others, agriculture was

practised in a manner more or less rude. As in these pursuits, more ingenuity, more activity, more exertion, and more perseverance is requisite, than in the occupations of fishermen, we find a proportionably increased degree of stability of character, and policy of institution, attributed to those who principally subsisted by the chase, or occasionally resorted to the practice of husbandry.

With various modifications, arising not only from these causes, but also from the diversity of climate, and of territory they inhabited, the form of government amongst the Indians of Paraguay, appears to have been the following:—

Caciques, in general hereditary, yet with those occasional interruptions which cannot fail to take place in barbarous nations more frequently than in those esteemed civilized, were the heads of their respective tribes. Valour, or eloquence, originally, no doubt, raised the caciques to the dignity they enjoyed; and the same qualifications, at times, when possessed in a superior degree by an ambitious warrior, or a turbulent orator, would interrupt the regular line of succession. But such depositions were without bloodshed, and less frequent in proportion as the country enjoyed tranquillity, or the means of existence were plentiful. The prerogatives which the caciques possessed were by no means despicable in the eyes of Indians, whose pleasure was repose, and whose enjoyments were confined to the gratification of appetite. The

caciques had a right to the labour of their subjects, and to an abundant supply of provisions from the exertions of others: they were not restricted, in those tribes where polygamy was not allowed to the common people, in the number of their wives; and in some tribes, the ancient disgraceful feudal custom of Europe, the right of defloration of the brides of their subjects, was found established.— All the sons of caciques had a right to assume the title, and establish a separate community, if they could get any Indians to follow them; but it is obvious, that, unless a greater increase of population took place than was generally consistent with the life and habits of the savages, this right would be but little exercised. One custom of the *Guaycurus* deserves to be noticed. The children of the cacique, as soon as they were born, were committed to the care of trusty persons, appointed by the community, and sent to distant places to be educated; and during the course of their tuition they were very seldom seen by their parents.

All differences and injuries were, or ought to be, submitted to the decision, and referred to the redress, of the caciques; who, in some tribes, arbitrarily punished with death, and in others, advised with the old men and wizards as to the infliction of chastisement for offences; but, notwithstanding the authority of the cacique, the party aggrieved frequently sought to do himself justice to the best of his ability; whilst, when the offender was too

powerful, he often escaped with impunity. The people encamped, marched, or travelled from place to place, to settle, to hunt, or to make war, under the orders of their chiefs; but in all measures of importance, it seems, that the principal Indians of the tribe were previously consulted.

It appears to have been a general maxim, or kind of law of nations, amongst them, that no Indian, or body of Indians, ought to live without the protection of some cacique; those who acknowledged a chief considering it as incumbent on them to destroy, or make slaves of, those who did not conform to this established rule.

The accounts of the existence of a nation of women, in the interior of South America, governed by a singular policy, and resembling the fabulous amazons of antiquity, are deserving of no credit;*

* The following account, given by Ribera, who, in 1543, went up a branch of the Paraguay as far as a nation called *Urtuezez*, seems to have been the foundation on which whatever has been narrated or invented, relative to the supposed amazons of America, has been built. Examining some Indians separately, who had come to visit him, they all unanimously told him, that, at ten days march to the north-west, there were large towns inhabited by women, who had great quantities of white and yellow metal, and were governed by a woman, whom the nations in her neighbourhood greatly feared and respected; that these women made use of nothing but what was made of white metal; and that on the road to them there was a nation of very little men, unable to make head against the women, who often invaded their country; but that, however, at a certain season of the year, the women sent for some of these little men to have children by them; that they kept the girls themselves, but sent the boys, when weaned, back to their

yet individual female warriors were not uncommon amongst the Indians, and many instances are recorded of their intrepidity in battle. Amongst the *Urimaguas*, women were regularly trained to the use of arms.

It would be a dry and uninteresting task, to detail the various appellations, by which the different tribes of Indians in Paraguay are distinguished, in the narratives of their conquerors. A list of barbarous and uncouth names, some of which, from the extinction of the people they belonged to, are obsolete, and others of no consequence from the pettiness of the tribes, would be equally unmeaning and uninteresting. A few of the most considerable will be enumerated when the present state of the Indians comes to be reviewed. Neither would the languages, or dialects, of those numerous tribes be now an object of interest, could sufficient materials be collected for a satisfactory account of them. Of the present language of

fathers; and that beyond the country of these women, there were several numerous nations of black men with beards. The Indians, it is stated, had heard these particulars from their fathers, but had not themselves had an opportunity of witnessing them; but their neighbours had given them the same account, adding, that all those black men were very well dressed, had large houses built of earth and stones, and white and yellow metal in such plenty that all their vessels and utensils were made of one or the other. The Spaniards long placed confidence in these reports, and incessant endeavours were vainly made to discover the countries of the amazons, of the little men, and of the black men.

some of the natives, specimens will be given in the progress of the work.

The initiation of their youth as warriors, and of their soldiers as leaders, though not accompanied with the severe tests of fortitude that distinguished the similar ceremonies of the tribes bordering on the Oronoco, was nevertheless an arduous trial. Torments of various kinds were inflicted, and incisions and punctures made in the most sensible parts. If the boy, for at sixteen the first step to military preferment was taken, submitted with patience and with fortitude, he was painted red, and pronounced a warrior. At twenty, a similar but more severe ceremony took place; after which, painted with different colours, the novice appeared as a veteran, and was pronounced worthy of leading his countrymen to battle. The petty wars, and partial hostilities that prevailed between the numerous independent and unconnected tribes of South America, resembled those of all people similarly situated. Invidious surprise was more resorted to than open attack; and the most vigilant scout, and most dexterous ambuscader, were amongst the most reputed of their warriors. So well calculated were some of their spies for the service in which they engaged, and who penetrated into the inmost of the Spanish encampments, crawling upon their bellies and elbows, and resembling trees or logs, that some of the Spaniards were weak enough to think that, by some magic power, they could assume the forms

of domestic animals, in order to escape the vigilance of their guards. The towns of the Indians are described as having been surrounded and protected by a fortification of pallisades.

The Spaniards have described them, in general, as cowardly and treacherous enemies, incapable of conduct and of discipline ; but clubs, bows, arrows, and lances, the usual weapons of savages, could not withstand the thunder of artillery, or the force of steel, and the impetuosity of cavalry.— Frequently, however, they resisted their invaders with success ; and a remarkable instance of conduct and discipline was displayed by the Chilian Indians, under the conduct of one of their veteran caciques. Indignant at the constant defeat of his countrymen by a handful of strangers, he divided his forces into thirteen divisions, of one thousand each, placing them behind each other in regular column. He ordered that, when the first thousand should be routed, they should not fall back on the second, but retreat by the wings, and form themselves again in rear of the whole ; by the time, therefore, that the other twelve had successively been routed and retreated, the first body was fresh and again equal to the encounter ; persevering in this manœuvre, the Spaniards could make no impression ; fatigued and dispirited, they attempted to extricate themselves, but were, with their general, *Baldivia*, overpowered and massacred.

The custom of scalping their fallen enemies,

though most prevalent amongst the North-American Indians, was also found to exist in the warlike customs of the inhabitants of Paraguay. But that which principally distinguished them, and awakened the greatest horror and antipathy of the Spaniards, was their inhuman feasts upon the bodies of their prisoners, whom they reserved, fattened, and slaughtered, for the festival that followed a successful enterprise of war. The existence of cannibalism has been occasionally doubted; but the undeniable testimonies, as to its prevalence in various and remote parts of the globe, are too strong and too decisive, now to admit of any doubts on the subject. Yet it has never been, as some authors have imagined, a scarcity of food that has prompted, or necessitated, these horrid repasts. Human flesh was never used as common food in any country; and the various relations of people who reckoned it amongst the stated means of subsistence, flow from the credulity and mistakes of travellers. The rancour of revenge first instigated the savage to this barbarous action; and the fiercest hordes devoured none but prisoners taken in war, or such as were regarded as their enemies. This is confirmed by two remarkable circumstances that occurred in the conquest of different provinces. In the expedition of Narvaez into Florida, in the year 1528, the Spaniards were reduced to such an extremity of famine, that, in order to preserve their own lives, they eat such of their companions

as happened to die. This appeared so horrible to the natives, who were accustomed to devour none but prisoners, that it filled them with disgust and indignation against the Spaniards. The other instance occurred during the siege of Mexico; when, though the Mexicans ravenously fell upon the bodies of the Spaniards and the Tlascalans that fell into their hands, the utmost rigour of the famine which they suffered could not induce them to touch the dead bodies of their own countrymen.

Little can be said of the arts or manufactures of the Paraguay Indians. Some of their tribes, it has been already remarked, possessed a kind of rude practice of agriculture. Manioc and maize, of which the prolific earth yielded two crops in a year, were the principal articles to which they paid any attention, whilst yams or potatoes sometimes also came in for a share; though the sugarcane, tobacco, and rice, are stated to have formed part of the husbandry of the *Chiquitos*. The manufacture of their arms, with instruments, which, from their ignorance of iron, must have been of inefficient duration, and tedious operation; the weaving of a few mats and hammocks,* from rushes, or grass; and the preparation of their

* The invention of hammocks originated with the Indians of South America, who thus slung their beds upon posts, to prevent the attack of noxious reptiles during their repose. The original Indian appellation throughout the country is *hamac*, which, with the invention itself, has been adopted by Europeans.

inebriating liquor chica, formed the most important, if not the sole, objects on which they exercised their industry; and the greatest part of the burthen of these, fell upon that weaker sex, whose lot in these regions appears to have been more onerous than usually falls to their share, even amongst savage tribes.

The preparation of chica, from maize, is conducted in the following manner: the maize, after being soaked in water till it germinates, is dried in the sun, then parched a little, and at last ground; the flour, after it has been well kneaded, is put into a large vessel with water, and left for two or three days to ferment. In some parts, instead of being ground, it is given to the women to chew, and the impregnation of it with the saliva, is supposed to add greatly to its virtue. It is sometimes made of other materials, besides maize, and the berry of a tree called *Ovinian*, nearly resembling a juniper-berry, both in size and in flavour, is infused in it, which adds considerably to its strength, and to its estimation.

This intoxicating beverage, the foundation of all their festivities, was particularly employed on every occasion of religious ceremony. Of these, and of their opinions of the deity, and of good and evil, a summary account will not be deemed unworthy of attention.

There are two fundamental doctrines, on which the whole structure of religion, as far as it can be discovered by the light of nature, is erected. The

being of a God, and the immortality of the soul. Men, in their savage state, pass their days, too often, like the animals around them, without the knowledge of, or veneration for, any superior power. Some of the ruder tribes of Indians in South America have not, even in their language any name for the deity, nor have the most accurate observers been able to discover any practice or institution, by which they appeared to recognize his authority, or to be solicitous to obtain his favour. Yet, amongst these tribes, apprehensions are discerned of invisible and powerful beings, to the influence of whom the extraordinary occurrences of nature are ascribed ; and the thunderstorm, the hurricane, and the earthquake are considered as effects of their interference. In unenlightened nations, therefore, we find that the first rites that bear any resemblance to acts of religion, are intended to avert the evils which men either suffer or dread. Even amongst those tribes whose religious system was more enlarged, superstition appears to be the offspring of fear, and all its efforts were employed to avert calamities. Hence the innumerable practices of the wizards or priests of the Paraguay Indians, which they supposed would either relieve their wants, or prevent the occurrence of any deprecated event. It would be irrelevant to enter into any detail as to the systems of religion more approaching to rationality that were found to exist in Peru, and in Bagota, in which one universal cause was the fundamental princi-

ple, and in which the beneficent interposition of Heaven was solicited, as well as the malignant influence of an evil spirit propitiated. The present examination is directed to those superstitions that prevailed in the other parts of South America, and in which the human mind had not attained a farther degree of advancement, than to conceive the existence of an evil principle, and to deprecate its wrath or malignity.

With regard to the immortality of the soul, it is a tenet so interwoven with human nature, so congenial to its consciousness, that it may be traced from one extremity of the globe to the other; in some regions more faint and obscure, in others more perfectly developed, but no where unknown. All the savage tribes of South America entertained hopes of a future and a more happy state. But, supposing that the souls of men, would, in a future existence, still continue to feel the same desires, and be engaged in the same occupations, as in the present world; the Americans allotted the highest place, in their country of spirits, to the skilful hunter, or to the adventurous and successful warrior. These notions were so prevalent, that they gave rise to an universal custom, which is at once, the strongest evidence of a belief in a future state, and the best illustration of what was expected there. That their friends might not enter upon the world whither they had departed, defenceless and unprovided, they buried with their bodies their weapons of war, or of the chase, their domestic utensils,

together with maize, manioc, venison, and whatever was reckoned as necessaries in their simple mode of life. In some provinces, upon the decease of a cacique, a number of his wives, of his favourites, and of his slaves, were put to death, and interred together with him, that he might appear with the same dignity, as he enjoyed on earth, in the world of spirits, and be waited upon by the same attendants. Many voluntary victims offered themselves, and courted the privilege of accompanying their departed master, as an high distinction. It was even found difficult, on some occasions, to set bounds to this enthusiasm, and to reduce the train of a favourite leader to such a number as the tribe could afford to spare.

Connected with devotion, appears likewise amongst all untutored nations, a fond desire of prying into futurity; and the wizards of the Indians were priests, soothsayers, and physicians. In the last quality, superstition and the force of imagination, mingled with some portion of craft, supplied their want of science; and incantation, and mummeries of divers kinds, were the means they employed to expel the imaginary causes of malignity. Recourse was had to them on all occasions when a desire was felt of acquiring an insight into futurity; and long before such knowledge of a deity had been acquired, as leads to adoration, man may be observed stretching out a presumptuous hand to rend the veil with which providence kindly conceals its purposes from hu-

man knowledge. It has, with the greatest propriety, been remarked, that to discern and to worship a superintending power, is an evidence of the enlargement and maturity of the human understanding; a vain desire of prying into futurity, is an error of its infancy, and a proof of its weakness.

In addition to the above general reflections, the following have appeared as the most remarkable of the Indian rites, that have been observed upon the first entry of the Europeans into the countries bordering on the river La Plata.

Upon the death of a cacique, or on any general mourning, which consists in abstaining from fish or any thing else that they may consider as delicacies, it is customary for the whole community to change their names.

Amongst the *Xarayes*, at the capture, by Don Alvarez, of their principal town, which consisted of eight thousand huts, a tower of timber, situated in the centre of the place, was found to be the residence and the temple of a monstrous serpent, which was fed with human flesh. It is described as equal in bulk to an ox, twenty-seven feet in length, and covered with round scales of a great thickness. The inhabitants adored this reptile, and alleged that it delivered oracles. The Spaniards killed it with fire-arms.

Amongst the *Guaranis*, the women, at the death of their husbands, used to throw themselves from some eminence, high enough to cripple them for

the remainder of their lives. They believed that the soul, on its leaving the body, never wandered at any great distance from it, but kept it company in the grave, where they, accordingly, left a vacancy for it to reside in.

To have a right to wear his hair among the *Abipones*, a man must have killed an enemy. The beard was to them so hideous, that when the least hair appeared, they directly pulled it out by the roots.*

The *Moluches* and *Puelches* admitted both sexes to the honour of the pontificate or wizardship. The men were not allowed to marry, but the women were. They were generally chosen to this office when children, as a preference was always shewn to those, who, at that early time of life, discovered an effeminate disposition. Those who were afflicted with epilepsy, were immediately selected for this employment, as chosen by the demons themselves, in whose confidence they were supposed to be. When they died, their souls were considered as adding to the number of demons, and such as had ever offended any one of these sorcerers, superstitiously dreaded their influence on his future prosperity, as soon as they were dead, which they then endeavoured to obviate by a more ready obedience, and more liberal offerings,

* This appears as a confirmation of what has before been said, as to the supposed natural want of beards amongst the Americans in general.

to the other ministers of the same nature, who remained to perform the same offices.

At the decease of their chieftains, the *Moluches*, the *Taluhets*, and *Diuihets*; one of the most distinguished women of the tribe was chosen to make a skeleton of his body, dissecting the flesh as clean from the bones as possible, burning the flesh and entrails, and burying the bones for a time; after which they were disinterred, and removed to the proper burial place of their ancestors, on the sea-coast. But as this practice still continues with a considerable degree of solemnity and ceremony amongst the Indian tribes, south of Buenos Ayres, another opportunity will occur to enlarge upon it.

It is difficult to trace any data by which to judge of the population of the inhabitants of these countries, at the time of their first discovery. From their savage state and wandering habits, it could not be numerous. The wars of extermination which the Spaniards carried on against those who refused to submit to their yoke; their cruelty and oppression of those whom they subjugated; the fatal introduction of the smallpox; and other minor causes, have since united to reduce the general numbers of all, and wholly to extinguish some, tribes. No judgment can, therefore, be formed, in their present dispersed and impotent state, from the time, when, we are told by the Spaniards, some caciques brought bodies of six and eight thousand men into the field, and when

the Chilians of the mountains encountered Baldi-
via with an army of thirteen thousand. On these
occasions, no doubt, the entire male population ca-
pable of bearing arms were ranged under the ban-
ners of their chiefs, and these may be taken as one-
fourth of the whole. Calculating, therefore, the
extent of country whence those armies were col-
lected, and comparing it with the whole of the
regions of Paraguay, the entire population, at the
time, may be estimated at about one million, or
twelve hundred thousand, souls.

CHAP. IV.

*General idea of the country—Rivers—Lakes—
Mountains—Plains—Forests—Climate—Soil,*

THE viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres stretches through twenty-six degrees of south latitude. Upon the whole, it may be denominated a level country, the two great chains of mountains called Cordilleras, the one on the side of Brazil, and the other on that of Peru, forming its eastern and western boundaries. Towards the north, a considerable tract of mountainous country, branching from both those ranges, and the elevated plains beyond the Gran Chaco, give rise to the multiplicity of streams that flow in every direction to join the great bodies of water which pour through the country from regions yet imperfectly known; whilst, descending by gradual slopes, the western and southern parts run into extensive, and, in some places, marshy plains, to the foot of the Cordillera of Chili. It may be considered as a vast amphitheatre, shut in laterally by the Brazilian and Peruvian mountains; by the heights of land, whence, on one side, the waters are disembogued through the mouths of the Maragnon and the Oronoco, and, on the other, by the widely-expanded Plata, to the north; and by a branch of the Cordillera

of Chili that runs nearly across to the Atlantic, under the name of Casuhati, to the south; leaving, towards the south-east, the immense opening of the Rio de la Plata, as a wide and magnificent portal proportioned to the grandeur, to the importance, and to the extent of the regions to which it gives access.*

The most prominent objects of regard in these regions are the immense rivers which descend through them. They are so numerous, that many, which would in Europe be looked upon as large rivers, flow in unregarded and nameless channels, considered but as tributaries of the main streams, and scarcely worthy of a place in the maps.

The RIO DE LA PLATA, or *River of Silver*, was originally called the *River of De Solis*, from its first discoverer; but Sebastian Cabot, who first penetrated beyond the junctions of the Parana and the Paraguay, having defeated a body of Indians on the banks of the latter, obtained a considerable booty in gold and silver, whence he be-

* As, on account of its difficult and dangerous navigation, and the disasters that befell its early visitors, this opening acquired the appellation of the *Hell of Navigators*, Milton's description of the gates of Hell seems, by a not unnatural association of ideas, applicable to this grand entrance:—

—— The gates wide open stood,
That with extended wings a banner'd host,
Under spread ensigns marching, might pass through,
With horse, and chariots, ranked in loose array;
So wide they stood.

stowed upon the river the pompous appellation which has since prevailed, and which has led many to believe that the precious metals are to be met with in abundance on its banks. It is, however, stated, that the treasure found in the possession of those Indians, was that which they had, in their turn, taken from Alexis de Garcia, a Portuguese, who, some years before, had penetrated from Brazil to the frontiers of Peru, and was killed, on his return with the plunder he had collected. The name, though thus originating in mistake, was too flattering to the ambitious cupidity with which the new world was regarded by the adventurers of Europe, to be easily superseded. It has been perpetuated, whilst the name of the first discoverer has been relegated to a few hills yet called the Sierra de Solis, on the northern shore of its entrance. The distinctive appellation of Rio de la Plata, however, though intended by Cabot for the whole of the majestic stream he had in part ascended, is now only applied to the channel, through which the great body of water formed by the confluence of the Parana, the Paraguay, and the Uruguay, flows into the ocean, forming an æstuary of fresh water, without parallel in the rest of the globe for width and magnificence.

It is one hundred and fifty miles broad at its mouth, from Cape St. Maria on one side, to Cape St. Anthony on the other. But some geographers have considered the point of Montevideo on one side, and the punta de Piedras, or stony point, on

the other, as its proper limits. Between those promontories it is only eighty miles broad. As, however, the water neither loses its freshness, nor feels the influence of the tide in any considerable degree, between the first-mentioned extremities, they are generally, and with propriety, considered as forming its northern and southern points of discrimination. At Buenos Ayres, which lies about two hundred miles from the mouth, it is about thirty miles broad; and the shores being little elevated, the eye can seldom reach from one side to the other. This wide and noble expanse is, notwithstanding its extent, deformed by rocks and sandbanks, and rendered of dangerous navigation not only by its shoals and shallows, but likewise by the impetuous torrents of wind which sweep, at intervals, over the vast plains of the Pampas, to the south-west of Buenos Ayres, whence they are called Pamperos, and rush down this wide opening with unequalled fury. It has been observed, however, that an incipient thunderstorm generally precedes the ravages of the Pamperos, and gives sufficient notice to mariners to prepare for the coming tempest. The only port which is adapted for the complete safety of ships of great or even considerable burthen, is that of Montevideo; though those of Maldonado, Barragon, Buenos Ayres, and Colonia, afford different degrees of anchorage and security. They will pass in review on a future occasion.

It is said, that, when this river was first dis-

covered, it was navigable as high as the city of Assumption, for large ships; but that the accumulations of sand which have since taken place now prevents merchant vessels from going higher than Buenos Ayres. There are two great banks which are the terror of mariners, and considerably detract from the utility of this noble river. That called the English bank is the most advanced towards the ocean, and is of considerable extent. Occasionally, and when the floods come down the rivers, it is covered for several fathoms; but has, in general, only a few feet water on it. The same may be said of the Ortiz bank, which lies higher up, and more across the river, being of greater length, but less breadth, than the former. Besides these a reef of rocks and shoals stretches out from Punta de Piedras, and renders the entrance along the southern shores of the river one of intricacy and danger. The northern channel is narrower and deeper, the southern wider and more shallow. Ships generally make Cape St. Maria, and their best way is to range along the northern shore, till they are clear of the bank of Ortiz, between which and the Fisher's bank, off Colonia or St. Sacrament, there is a good passage over to the road of Buenos Ayres. Notwithstanding the shoals, there are very few islands in the lower part of the river.—The Isle de Lobos, or of Wolves (so called from the seals and other amphibious animals that frequent it), lies off the Punta de Este, and is surrounded by dangerous rocks. The Isle de Flores,

or of Flowers, is situated between the English bank and the port of Montevideo, and affords tolerable anchorage between it and the shore. No other islands occur, except those of San Gabriel, which protect the roadstead of St. Sacrament, until near the confluence of the Uruguay and the Parana; where, on one side, lies the island of Martin Garcia, and on the other, that of Palmas. None of these islands are, however, of any consequence, excepting as adding to the difficulty of the navigation. It may not, however, be improper to remark, that the difficulties of entering this river have probably been exaggerated, either by the timidity, or by the policy, of the Spaniards. The skill and intrepidity of British seamen will overcome all that are not insurmountable; and when sufficiently surveyed or familiarly known, these magnified obstacles will be divested of much of their present formidable appearance. The soundings decrease pretty regularly from fifteen to four and three fathoms water; and the bottom varies from sand, at the mouth, to rocky clay, and, higher up, thick mud, the sediment brought down by the turbid and turbulent waves of the various great rivers that here unite their streams.*

* The geographical positions of the following places in Rio de la Plata have been laid down by an accurate navigator as under:—

| | S. Latitude. | W. longitude. |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|---|
| North point, or } Punta de Este, } | 34° 57' 30" | 54° 43' 30" |
| Island of Lobos.. | 35° 1' 0" | { east pt. 54° 31' 30" west pt. 54° 35' 0" |

About eighteen miles above Buenos Ayres, after having received the tribute of a comparatively trifling river, the Rio de las Conchas, or River of Shells, the Plata loses its name in those of the Uruguay and the Parana. It will be proper, now, therefore, to remount to the sources of these rivers, and of the Paraguay, in order to describe them with more geographical propriety.

The PARAGUAY, though not retaining that appellation till its junction with the Plata, is, from its length of course, the first to be considered.

Its name, according to some, is derived from a word in the language of the country signifying *variety of colours*, perhaps from the beautiful plumage of the birds, and variety of flowers along its banks; but Charlevoix says it is so named from a word in the language of the nations near the lake Xarayes, signifying the *crowned river*, as if that lake formed a crown about its head. Its sources, however, are very imperfectly ascertained; and though the lake Xarayes is said by some to be its northern boundary, other accounts make it rise much nearer towards the equator, and assert that that lake is no other than an accumulation of its waters during the floods, on a level extent of

| | S. latitude. | | W. longitude. |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|----------|---------------|
| English bank { | north pt. 35° 10' 0" | east pt. | 55° 40' 45" |
| | south pt. 35° 13' 30" | west pt. | 55° 46' 15" |
| Montevideo, town..... | 34° 55' 0" | | 56° 4' 0" |
| Buenos Ayres, anchorage | 34° 37' 0" | | 58° 13' 0" |
| Cape St. Anthony..... | 36° 23' 0" | | 56° 32' 30" |

country through which it passes, which assumes, in the rainy seasons, the appearance and character of an inland sea, whilst, in the summer, the river is confined within comparatively narrow limits.

The existence of lake Xarayes, as a lake, can not, however, be wholly denied, unless we refuse all belief to the reports of the expeditions undertaken during the government of Don Alvarez. In the first of these, in 1542, the lake was coasted by De Irala, who, on its western shore, discovered a place which he called Puerto de los Reyes, and which afterwards served as a station or establishment for all the Spaniards who penetrated that way. Alvarez himself, and Ribera, one of his lieutenants, is stated to have passed over the lake; and an island is described by Father del Tocho, as situated opposite to Puerto de los Reyes, called the island of *Orejones*, from a Peruvian nation, who, it is said, took refuge here on the conquest of their country. It is stated to be thirty miles in length and fifteen in breadth. Its salubrious air, the spontaneous fertility of its soil, and the beauty of its situation, induced the Spaniards to give it the appellation of the Island of Paradise. Considerably elevated above the low and inundated shores of the lake, it enjoys, though situated between the fifteenth and sixteenth degrees of south latitude, the most temperate weather during the whole year; refreshed by regular breezes, and watered by many rivulets, its fields yield, without effort or aid, the choicest fruits and rarest pro-

ductions of America; and game and fish of all kinds present themselves to complete the bounty of nature. This picture may be overcharged, and the dimensions of the lake may have been extended to the verge of its annual overflowings; but, as no late travellers have penetrated so far, and all its early visitors represent it as a lake of considerable magnitude, some modern geographers have expunged this lake from their maps, on grounds that appear to be too slight.

In these latitudes, it is said, that the rivers overflow to such a degree, when the sun has reached the tropic, that more than three hundred miles of the country, on each side, are laid under water; and the canoes of the natives are navigated over the tops of the highest trees. These inundations last four months; the waters begin to fall towards the end of March, and leave behind them, like the waters of most tropical rivers, a fructifying sediment, that, in some respects, compensates for the insalubrity which they occasion, both by their exhalations, and by the putrifaction of the fish which are abandoned in large quantities, by the retiring of the waters.

From these enormous accumulations of water, it is natural to conclude, that the rivers which feed them, must, even when not swelled by periodical rains, or melted snows, proceed from distant sources; and the accounts of the longest course of the Paraguay may hence be considered as confirmed. It is not likely, however, that it

has any water-communication, either with the Maragnon or the Oronoco, as has been asserted by some of the missionaries, as the mountainous district that crosses South America from the northern borders of Brazil, to the Cordilleras of Peru, interposes between them. The Portuguese from St. Paul and Cuyaba in Brazil, travel across these regions, by means of the rivers and lakes, collecting gold and slaves amongst the Indian nations, and are stated be working mines not far from the eastern confines of Peru*; but the geography of this

* The relation given to the Jesuits of San Raphael, by Don Antonio Pineyro, the chief of a Portuguese expedition, travelling across the continent in 1740, of the route they pursued from Brazil to Peru, will be found interesting. "From St. Paul of Piriatinqua they travelled by land to embark on the Nembis or Anembi, by following the little rivers that fall into it. By some rivulets communicating between the Anembi and the Parana, they entered the latter, and then ascended the Yguairi, which falls into the Paraguay, in conjunction with another river they called Boterey. After this they remounted the Paraguay, keeping in close to the western shore of it, and leaving to their right, the ruins of the city of Xeres. Then, leaving to their left, the lake Maniore, and a little higher, Rio Taquari, they soon reached the town of Jesus de Cuyaba, which lies but two days journey to the north-east of lake Xarayes. In two days journey more to the west, they got to a great mountain, called Morro de San Geronymo, where gold mines were worked. After crossing the mountain they embarked on lake Xarayes; and, after coasting it for some time, entered a great river, which flows into it from the west. By this river they proceeded to other mines, called Monte Grosso, where there is a town, consisting of three hundred families. Don Antonio Pineyro said, that he was one of the first that had ascended this river; that he met, on the banks of it, a small nation of Indians, called Paris-

tract is so confused, or little known, that the vague accounts we have of their itineraries, can neither be reconciled to each other, nor to the maps that enjoy the greatest reputation for accuracy.

It is probable, therefore, that the real sources of the Paraguay, will be found about the latitude of ten degrees south. After passing through the lake Xarayes, it receives on the right, the IGUATU, an Indian word, signifying good water, which is formed by the confluence of two other rivers, one issuing from the mountains of Peru, and the other from those to the north. At the junction of the Iguatu with the Paraguay, a number of channels and subdivisions of the main stream, give it the appearance and the intricacy of a labyrinth.

On the left, the CUYABA is received from the Brazilian ridge. The gold-mines of Cuyaba, which lie on the western side of the mountains, have been claimed by Spain, but are possessed and worked, though it is believed with little advantage, by the Portuguese.

Lower down, the river is better known, and assumes a more determinate form. It receives a number of subordinate streams as it traverses the

sus, very poor and wretched, and of a very diminutive stature. 'These are the Indians,' said he, 'who work in the mines with the negroes and other slaves sent thither from Brazil, with missionaries to instruct the Parissus and the Mainburez, their neighbours, who are a very numerous nation. Hence, probably, the flat country around lake Xarayes is, by some, called Campos Paresis.'

champaign country of the Gran Chaco, amongst which is the *Guyaru*, the waters of which are very salt; and in latitude $24^{\circ} 47'$ it passes the city of Assumption, the capital of the province of Paraguay.

The PILCOMAYO here attracts the attention. It falls into the Paraguay on the left, by two branches, on the point of land formed by the most northern of which, the city of Assumption was founded by Gonzalez de Mendoza, in 1538. The other branch does not join the Paraguay till within a short distance of the confluence of the Vermejo. It is the largest river of the Gran Chaco, and is one of the most important of the branches of the Paraguay, forming a water-communication of nearly nine hundred miles, with the province of Los Charcos, and the mines of Potosi. It rises in the western Cordillera, and receiving various mountain-torrents passes near Potosi, whence the little river *Tarapaya* runs into it, and, it is said, carries with it from the mines a considerable quantity of silver, which means have not been found of saving, and which has been calculated to amount to the value of five hundred thousand dollars annually. It is added that so large a proportion of quicksilver is also washed into the Pilcomayo by the same channel, that no fish can live in it. From these, or other causes, however, no fish are found in the river, till it leaves the mountainous territory, and reaches Chaco; and here it begins also to abound in alligators, which are said to be

more numerous and more voracious in this, than in the other streams of the country.

Garcilasso de Vega relates, that the name of Pilcomayo signifies in the Quitcoane language, the *River of Sparrows*, and that that of *Araguay*, by which its northern branch is sometimes distinguished, denotes, in the language of the Guaranis, the *River of Understanding*, because it requires much precaution in those who navigate it, not to lose the main stream, and get entangled in the lakes that communicate with it towards the end of its course. This northern branch, from passing over beds of salt, acquires a brackish taste, and much salt-petre is found on its banks.

The navigation of the Pilcomayo, however, though at times practicable, with the exception of some rapids that are easily overcome, to its source; is also subject to occasional interruptions, and in dry seasons, it is, in some places, too shallow for the smallest craft. In 1740, a failure of its waters is recorded, even at its source, by which the working of the mines of Potosi was suspended, and the country suffered severely.

The island formed by the two branches of the Pilcomayo is low and marshy; so much so, that in the rainy season, the two branches are confounded, for the waters swell so much as to overflow the whole island and even to communicate with the Rio Vermejo. In the tract of land adjoining the river, and subject to inundations, there are also

several permanent lakes, but of inconsiderable extent, nameless and unimportant.

The VERMEJO, or *Red River*, is the next, on the same side. It rises in Tarija, a mountainous district to the south of Potosi, and branches of it run from the towns of Jujui and Salta. It is called *Rio Grande*, where it joins the Paraguay. Its current is very gentle, and the ascent by the aid of regular southern breezes, that blow every morning, is as easy as its descent. It abounds in fish, and the waters are deemed very salutary. Pearls were found in a lake formed by this river, but the inferiority of their quality, or the failure of the fishery, soon occasioned its abandonment.

There are several other rivers that traverse the Chaco from the Cordilleras, insignificant rivulets at one time, impetuous torrents at another. There is one called the *Rio Verde*, from the colour of its waters, for which no cause is assigned, whilst they are not thereby rendered either unwholesome or unpalatable. It falls into the Paraguay considerably above Assumption. Some of these rivers lose themselves in the earth. By the melting of the snow on the Cordilleras and the periodical rains, both occurring in the same season, they overflow to such a degree, that part of Chaco resembles an island sea; and these inundations are so considerable, and so sudden, especially near the mouths of the rivers that fall into the Paraguay, that the inhabitants are obliged to have recourse

to their canoes, or to the tops of trees to provide for their safety. No sooner, however, are the waters retired, than the plains they covered assume an aspect of verdure and fertility that compensates for their previous apparent desolation. Were this country inhabited by people calculated by industry or art, to make the most of the advantages Providence has bestowed on it, and to correct the disadvantages under which it labours, it might become the Egypt of the new world.

The great river PARANA, which robs the Paraguay of its name, now appears on the right, descending from the mountains of Brazil, by a long, a tortuous, and a diversified course. Parana signifies *sea*, or *great water*, a name given to this river by the Indians, on account of its enormous size. It rises far within the limits of the Portuguese territories. Its main stream, under the name of Rio Grande, an appellation that is bestowed upon numerous rivers in South America of various dimensions, flows from the mountainous country of Minaes Geraes, one of the richest of the interior provinces of Brazil, but with the topography of which we are very little acquainted. It is swelled to a considerable bulk, by the accession of several other rivers, before it enters the Spanish dominions. The boundary-line, however, between Paraguay and Brazil, is not exactly ascertained in this part. The missions of the Jesuits extend, or did extend, beyond where the *Paranapané* flows into the Parana. This river,

the name of which signifies *the great river of Misfortune*, issues also from the Brazilian mountains, the range of which, in this part, approaches very near to the Atlantic; and it is reinforced by the waters of several others, the most considerable of which are the *Pirapé* and the *Tabaxiva*. Its banks are covered with immense forests, and amongst them, in particular, cedars abound of a stupendous height and enormous thickness.

To return to the Parana; it now flows, in a south-west course, through the principal establishments of the Jesuits, a country of delightful aspect, and incomparable fertility. The Parana seldom overflows its banks; it runs in a broad but deep channel, and in latitude twenty-four passes over a ledge of rocks that has been denominated a cataract, but is little more than a rapid. Indeed, loaded boats are hauled up it by means of ropes, so that it does not materially obstruct the navigation of the river, which is not difficult as far as it has been settled or explored. This rapid, which is called the fall of Itu, is formed by a chain of rocks that rise in separate masses, and leave channels like embrasures for the gushing stream.* The

* The manner of ascending this rapid is described as follows:—Three Indians, at the bottom of the fall, pushed onwards a large boat laden with a variety of articles, which were tightly secured; two stood in the water, above the rocks, pulling two ropes that were fastened to the prow of the boat; a little distance beyond were four more; and by their joint endeavours they dragged the boat up the fall. When she was safely lodged in the upper stream

Parana is here very wide, and, when swelled by rains, very rapid; and the boats are, at times, hindered from passing till the violence of the current has abated. Near this fall medicinal springs are found, which have acquired some reputation in the country. Some way below the fall, the *Cibogi*, a rapid and rocky river, falls into the Parana; and in latitude $25^{\circ} 30'$ it receives the *Iguazu*, a broad but short stream, running from the mountains at the back of St. Catherine. A petrifying quality is ascribed to the waters of the Parana.

Swelled by its various tributary streams, the Parana, answering here to its Indian appellation, flows majestically on, in a more westerly direction, to join the Paraguay. No other streams of any note run into it till then, nor does it seem to want any further aid to be able to wrest the dominion of the plains from its mighty rival. Broader and deeper than the Paraguay, the name of the latter is lost; but its course remains unaltered; and, as if in revenge for the usurpation of its right, the united floods of the two rivers are forced, from Corrientes, a town situated at their junction, to follow the natural direction of the Paraguay from south to north.

At St. Lucia, a settlement on the right bank of the river, a channel called *Rio Corrientes* is found

they rested a while; and then, hoisting their sail, proceeded on their way. The fall, at the place where this manœuvre was performed, appeared to be about twelve feet high; but the centre part, which assumes a semicircular form, is considerably higher.

communicating with the lake Iberi, which will be described hereafter.

Paying no particular attention to the channels and lesser rivers that communicate on both sides with the grand stream, as it passes through the flat country, the great river SALADO, on the left, is the next object of consideration. This river derives its name from the salt with which its waters are impregnated, although this quality is general to the rivers that pass through Tucuman, from the Cordilleras of Atacama and Copiapo.

The Salado is called, in the early part of its course, the *Rio del Pasage*; and is so rapid, as to render its navigation very dangerous. On arriving at the place where the town of Estero formerly stood, it changes its name into that of *Rio de Valbuena*; and from its source to this place, which is about one hundred and twenty miles, its waters are tinged of a blood colour, which disappears, by degrees, as it receives those of other rivers. This colour is attributed to the soil of the valley of Calchaqui, through which it flows. It is not called the Salado till it reaches the latitude of San Jago del Estero. Its general direction is south-east; but before it join the Parana, it runs a more southerly course for some distance. It is at Santa Fé, in latitude $31^{\circ} 40' S.$, that it mixes with the main river.

The RIO DOLCE, or *Sweet River*, the next principal river of Tucuman, does not, however, communicate with the Parana, but rising in the Cor-

dilleras, and watering the towns of San Miguel de Tucuman, and San Jago del Estero, loses itself in the salt-lakes to the north-east of Cordova. There are several others, that steal into the bosom of the earth, and Cordova is situated on one of that description, called *Rio Primero*. Almost all of them change their names at every town they pass through; few of them are navigable, and none of them run any length. The forests of Tucuman abound in springs, small lakes, and marshes; and though it never rains for six months in the year, the earth, kept moist by the inundations naturally produced by the almost constant rains during the other six months, yields abundant crops of grain.

RIO TERCERO enters the Parana, between fifty and sixty miles below Santa Fé, at the Rincon or corner of Gaboto, under the original Indian appellation of *Zarcarana*. It rises in the mountains of Achala, a branch of the Cordillera, that extends into Tucuman, is increased by the waters of several smaller rivers, before it passes the heights of Cordova, where it has a considerable fall; but coming to the plains, part of which are very sandy; it disappears, during the dry season, but breaks out again at some distance. In times of rain it encreases very much, and brings down with its rapid current great quantities of wood. Its course is winding, and its banks, for more than sixty miles after it leaves the mountains, are full of high willow-trees. The country through which it flows is fine corn and pasture-land. Towards

Cruzalta it becomes brackish, but not so much so as to prevent its being potable. It here, as before said, assumes the name of Zarcaranna, and terminates in the Parana by a S.S.E. course.

The Parana, from Santa Fé downwards, is sprinkled with numerous islands, which in most places hide its immense breadth from observation. Many of these islands are large, and all are covered with trees, but none are inhabited except by wild beasts and game. These islands are overflowed during the annual inundations, of which there are two, a greater and a less. The latter lasts for about a month in June and July, and is called the increase of the Pecquereys or sparlings; the other lasts during the months of December, January, and sometimes February. This rises from eighteen to twenty feet above the level of the islands; and in these seasons the wild animals with which they abound swim over to the main land. On some occasions of extraordinary floods, the inhabitants of Santa Fé have had thoughts of forsaking their city, which is often wholly surrounded by the waters. When this vast flood, however, comes down into the Plata, it does but just cover the low lands upon its banks. The Parana now takes a more decisive bend to the south-east; and soon joining the great river Uruguay, they together expand into the sea-like Plata.

The URAGUAY, though not equal, either to the Paraguay or the Parana, for length of course, surpasses both in the rapid accession of waters it

receives, by which, near its confluence with the latter, it is its equal, if not its superior, in breadth. An island, however, at its entrance intercepts the view of its size, and compresses its waters so much that the main channel is dangerous to be navigated from its rapidity, and vessels are obliged to pass through the narrow and more winding passage on the other side of the island. The Uruguay rises not far from the sources of the Iguazu, and runs for a time in a direction almost parallel with the mountains of Brazil; whilst, on the other side, it is compressed by another range that separates it from the bed of the Parana. The quick accumulation of the waters from the mountain-torrents render it extremely rapid; and when it leaves the hilly country, it attains so great a breadth, six hundred and ninety miles above its discharge into the Plata, that a ten-oared boat requires half an hour to cross it, though it runs there at a very slow rate. The mountains on the left now terminate, and deviating from those on the right, the Uruguay receives several tributary streams on that side; the most remarkable of which are the *Tebiquari*, which forms in this place the boundary between the provinces of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata, and the *Rio Negro*, a rather considerable river, that flows nearly from east to west, from the mountains to the north of Maldonado, and joins the Uruguay near its mouth. On the left, the Uruguay communicates by the river *Mirimay* or *Iberi*, with the lake that bears the latter name.

Upon the whole, the Uruguay is a rocky and turbulent stream, of difficult navigation, except by the balzas, a species of craft peculiar to South America. It abounds in fish, and the country through which it passes is romantic, beautiful, and fertile.

Below the junction of these mighty waters, the Plata receives none but insignificant rivulets, unless we consider as accessory streams the rivers Borombon and Saladillo, which disembody themselves between Punta de Piedras and Cape St. Anthony, and may therefore be looked upon as having their own outlets to the sea.

The BOROMBON is a large river, or rather lake, proceeding from the overflowing of the lakes that lie in the plains of Matanza, south of Buenos Ayres, when they are swelled by great rains. The lakes that contribute to the Borombon are those of Reduction, Sauce, Vitel, and Chascamuz. It is sometimes near a mile in breadth, having neither banks nor falls, but a very broad flat bottom. When at its greatest encrease, it is not more than one fathom deep in the middle. During the greatest part of the year it is entirely dry.

The SALADILLO, which is too salt to be potable, may be considered as a continuation of the *Rio Quinto*, which rises in the hills of Yacanto, south of those of Achala, and loses itself in a marshy lake called Punto del Sauce; but when it overflows, it communicates by various channels through the flat country with the Saladillo, which breaks

out a little farther. The Saladillo runs very low for the greatest part of the year. At a place called Callighon, twenty miles from its mouth, where it is very broad, it scarcely reaches the ancles; and at its mouth, it would be impossible for the smallest boat, if laden, to enter. Yet, in the beginning of October, it swells prodigiously; rises above its banks, and is, in the place just mentioned, nearly nine feet deep. The flood generally lasts two or three months. There are many trees on its banks, and a wood, called the Isla Larga, reaches to within nine miles of its mouth, which is in the bay of Samborombon.

Though by the Indian boundary, agreed upon in the year 1740, the province of Buenos Ayres does not extend beyond the river Saladillo; yet, as by the occasional excursions of the Spaniards the limits of the colony may be said to have been stretched considerably farther to the south, it will be well here to give an account of the other rivers that run from the frontiers of Chili to the Atlantic ocean, as far as the second Desaguadero, or Rio Negro; beyond which, no accounts, that are to be depended on, are extant.

The HUEYQUE LEUVU first attracts the attention. This Indian name signifies the *River of Willows*, from the great number of those trees that grow on its banks. The Spaniards have given the name of *Rio de los Sauces*, or the *River of Willows*, to the *Cusu Leuvu* of the Indians, the great river of the *second Desaguadero*; and the Hueyque Leuvu

they call the *Rio de Barrancas*, or the *River of Sandbanks*. It is of considerable size. It is in general shallow and fordable, but is sometimes greatly swelled by the floods. It is formed in the plains between the mountains of Achala and Yacanto, and the first Desaguadero, or *Rio Colorado*, and takes its course south and south-east, through the Indian country, till it enters the ocean by two openings; though it is doubted whether it actually has a separate outlet, as, from the reports of the Indians, it has been concluded that it joins the *Rio Colorado*, a little above its mouth.

THE FIRST DESAGUADERO, OR *RIO COLORADO*, *red river*, is one of the largest that pass through this country. It takes its rise from a great number of streams that issue from the western side of the Cordillera, almost as high as the volcano of Chuapa, and taking nearly a direct course from north to south, passes with a deep and rapid current within about thirty miles of the towns of San Juan and Mendoza. A small river that washes the former runs into the Desaguadero and the *Tanuya*, a pretty large river, after receiving the *Portillio*, that runs from Mendoza, joins it near to where it is swallowed up in the lakes of *Guana-cache*.

These lakes are famous for the great numbers of trout caught in them, but more so for burying, as it were, in their bosom so vast a river, for here it seems to end, terminating in brooks and marshes. But it breaks out again at a few leagues distance,

in an immense number of rivulets, which, joining together, form a large river, called by the Picunches, *Huaranca Lewu*, that is, *a thousand rivers*, either from the many lesser rivers of which it is composed, or from the great volume of its waters. During the whole remainder of its course, till it enters the ocean, it is very broad and shallow. The Pehuenches call this river *Cum Lewu*, or the *Red River*, whence the Spanish name of *Colorado*; its banks being of a red colour. In the winter, when the ground is hardened by the frosts, which are not uncommon in these latitudes, in the vicinity of the Cordillera, the Indians pass over the marshes without any inconvenience; but when the snow melts in the mountains, the Desaguadero increases to such a degree, that it overflows the marshes, and renders them impassable, except by those who are dextrous swimmers. This marshy tract extends from the thirty-fourth to the thirty-seventh degrees of south latitude, and about one hundred and seventy miles in breadth. The Desaguadero, from the part where all the small rivulets are collected into one stream, directs its course to the south-east, till it approaches within a day's journey of the second Desaguadero, or Rio Negro, when it turns due east for about one hundred and fifty miles; it then turns again to the south-east, in which direction it continues till it discharges itself into the sea.

At the mouth of this river, there is a large bay or opening, called Bahia Anegada, which is very

shallow, and full of sandbanks. A Spanish vessel was lost, early in the last century, in Bahia Anegada, the crew of which saved themselves in their boats; and proceeding with them up the river, they arrived at Mendoza. The course of this river is therefore established past all doubt. In the year 1734, the masts and part of the hull of the wreck remained.

The SECOND DESAGUADERO, or RIO NEGRO, *Black River*, is the largest of all Patagonia, and is known by various names besides the above; it is also called, by the Spaniards, the *Desaguadero*, or *Drain of Nahuelhupa*, and the *Rio Grande de los Sauces*; by some of the Indians, the *Cholehechel*; by the Puelches, *Lewu Camo*, or, by antonomasia, the *River*; but its most general Indian name is *Cusu Lewu*, or the *Black River*.

Its real source is not exactly known, but it is supposed to rise not far from the sources of the river Sanquel; and like it, to be formed from a great number of brooks and small rivers. It runs unseen amidst high and broken rocks, and foams through a narrow but deep and precipitous channel, till at length it shews itself in a very wide and rapid stream, somewhat higher than Baldivia, but on the opposite side of the Cordillera. At a small distance from where it first emerges from the inaccessible glens where it is formed, it is joined by many rivers, some of which are large, and enter principally on the northern side.

Of the rivers that enter it from the north, one,

the *Oglen*, may be called large, broad, and deep; and proceeds from a lake, nearly thirty-six miles in length, and almost circular, called *Huechun Lavguen*, or *Lake of the Boundary*. This lake is about two days journey from Baldivia, and is fed by the numerous springs and rivulets of the Cordillera.

Another river, which runs into the Rio Negro from the north, comes higher up from the foot of the Cordillera, and crosses the country from north-west to south-east. It is called *Pichee Picuntu Leuwu*, or *Little River of the North*, to distinguish it from the Sanquel; each of them being denominated by the Indians *the River of the North*. It is distant from the junction of the Sanquel about four or five days journey.

The SANQUEL is one of the largest rivers of the country, and may be considered as another Desaguadero, or drain, of the snowy mountains of the Cordillera. It derives its name from a thorny, thick, and rough reed, called Sanquel in the idiom of the Pehuenches, with which the marshy country between this river and the first Desaguadero abounds. It is not formed in the marshes, but rushing from between the deep chasms of the mountains, passes through them, and is augmented by their waters. It makes its first appearance at a place called *Diamante*, whence the Spaniards sometimes call it the *Rio del Diamante*. The river *Lolgen*, which also comes from the Cordillera, and joins the Sanquel, has such equal pretensions in

point of magnitude, that the Indians indifferently call their joint streams the Sanquel and the Lolgen Leuvu. Broad and rapid from the first, it is greatly increased by the moist country through which it runs, for the space of three hundred miles; and taking almost a direct south-easterly course, it enters into the Rio Negro by a very wide and open mouth, occasioning by the confluence, dangerous and innumerable whirlpools.

On the south side, the Rio Negro is reinforced by only two rivers of any note. One is called the *Lime Leuvu* by the Indians, and the *Desaguadero of Nahuelhupa* by the Spaniards. This name is given by some to the whole of Rio Negro, but it is that of only one, and not the largest, of its branches.

This river proceeds, with a rapid stream, from the lake of Nahuelhupa, almost due north, through vales and marshes, and continues its course for about ninety miles, till it enters the Rio Negro, a little below the *Olgen*. The Indians call it the *Lime Leuvu*, because the marshes through which it flows abound with leeches, which are called *lime* in the language of the Huilliches.

The *Lake of Nahuelhupa*, is the largest that is formed by the waters of the Chilian Cordillera, and is near one hundred miles in length. It takes its name from an island it incloses, called the island of Tigers; Nahuel denoting a tiger, and hupa an island. It is situated in a great plain surrounded by mountains. A small river enters it

on the south side, which comes from the country of Chonos, on the continent opposite to the islands of Chiloe.

The other river which joins the Rio Negro from the south, is but small, and is called by the Indians *Machi Leuvu*, or the *River of Wizards*. It comes from the country of the Huilliches, runs south and north, and discharges itself into the main river a little lower than the Lime Leuvu. Hence the Rio Negro takes its course to the east, making a small bend northward, where it approaches within about sixty miles of the first Desaguadero. It then winds down to the south-east till it enters the ocean.

Some distance before it terminates in the sea, the river makes a large sweep, forming a peninsula about eighteen miles in diameter. It is called *Tehuel-malal*, or the inclosure of the Tehuelhets. Till it comes to this place, the river passes through a mountainous country, leaving, however, in many places, plains of two or three miles broad between the hills and the river. These plains are uncultivated, but afford pasture to numerous herds of cattle. The banks are covered with willows: it has no falls, nor is it fordable in any part. It runs with velocity, and is subject to extraordinary floods when the rains and melted snow come down from the Cordillera; for the branches of this great drain carry off the waters from about seven hundred miles in length of that stupendous ridge, from the thirty-fifth to the forty-fourth degrees of south latitude.

The rising of the river is sometimes so sudden, that, though it may be heard at a great distance beating and roaring amongst the rocks, yet it hardly gives sufficient notice to the Indians, for the women to strike their tents and carry off their baggage, and for the men to secure their cattle by removing them to the mountains. Disasters frequently happen; the plains are entirely deluged, and tents, cattle, and sometimes women and children, are swept away by the impetuous torrent.

The mouth of the river, which is called by the Spaniards the *Bay of St. Matthias*, and sometimes *Bahia Sin Fond*, has never been fully surveyed. The latter appellation has an equivocal meaning, and may either be derived from great depth, and be translated, bottomless bay, or it may denote a bay in which, from its shallowness, there is no *fond* or anchorage. The former, however, has been supposed to be the most rational ground for the appellation, as it does not appear likely that a river of such rapidity and length of course, descending principally through a rocky and mountainous country, would carry along with it much sand, or if it did, that the sand would lodge in banks at its mouth against the force of so violent a current, and obstruct its entrance.

If the bay of San Matthias be found to afford good anchorage, and a harbour is discovered at the mouth of the Rio Negro, it would afford a most eligible place for a settlement. In such an

event, the peninsula of the Tehuelhets should be the scite of the principal establishment, with a fort or a few batteries at the harbour. The neck of the peninsula is only about three miles wide, and except this small isthmus, there is a space of eighteen miles every way, of very fertile land, that is defended all round by a great and rapid river. The waters abound in fish, and the country is well stored with game; cattle and horses are in great plenty, and the soil is fit for every useful production of Europe, and many of South America. The adjacent Indians are a bold and hardy race, and an advantageous traffic might be established with them for hides, tallow, and furs. The whale and seal-fisheries along the coast, might be carried on to any extent. But the principal political advantages to be derived from a settlement here, would be the ready access which the great river on which it would be situated would afford into Chili, and to those Indians on its frontiers, who are almost constantly in a state of insurgence against the Spaniards.

To return, however, to the description of the rivers:—After having followed the course of all those which run to the south, there are a few which claim attention in the province of Los Charcas, which run to the north, and swell the mighty volume of the Maragnon.

Excepting the rivers which fall into the lakes Titiaca and Paria, they all join to form the **RIO MADERA**, one of the largest tributaries to the

Maragnon. They are distinguished by various names.

The RIO BENI rises in the second Cordillera, and runs south and north as far as the tenth degree of latitude, where it takes a sharp turn to the east, to join the Madera. It is of sufficient magnitude to have been compared to the Danube.—The *Rio de la Exaltation* is a channel that runs across the country from the Rio Mamore to the Beni and the Madera.

The RIO MAMORE, which is large and broad, rises in the district of Misque, and receives on the right the *Piray* and the *Guapay*; the latter of which is now known by the title of *Rio Grande de la Plata*. It does not, however, deserve, even where widest, the name of Rio Grande, any more than several others upon which that pompous appellation has been bestowed in South America. Nor is it much deserving of its adjunct, as few mines are known to exist in the country through which it passes. The new town of Santa Cruz de la Sierra is situated on its banks.

The RIO MAGDALENA, or SAN MIGUEL, is first known under the name of the *Pirapiti*; it runs from the country of Chaco, through that of the Chiquitos, and joins either the Mamore or the Madera, by the name of *Sara*. It flows the most to the eastward through the plains, and is subject to great floods.

Of the rivers that communicate with the lakes at the foot of the western Cordillera, there is none

of any note but the *Desaguadero* or *Drain of Titiaca*. It runs out of the lake of that name, and terminates in that of Paria, which has no visible outlet; yet, as it is said to abound in whirlpools or eddies, it is supposed that the water issues by subterraneous passages. Over the river Desaguadero still remains the bridge of rushes constructed by Capac Yupanqui, the fifth Inca of Peru, for transporting his army to the other side, in order to subdue the provinces of Collasuyo. The Desaguadero is here between eighty and an hundred yards in breadth; flowing with a very impetuous current, under a smooth, and, as it were, a sleeping surface. The Inca ordered four large cables to be made of a kind of grass which covers the lofty heaths and mountains of that country, and is called by the Indians Ichu. Two of these cables being laid across the water, fascines of dry rushes were fastened together and laid across them: on these the two other cables were laid, and again covered with other fascines securely fastened, but smaller than the first, and arranged in such a manner as to form a level surface. By this means he procured a safe passage for his army. This bridge, which is about five yards in breadth, and one and a half above the surface of the water, is carefully repaired or rebuilt every six months, by the inhabitants of the adjacent provinces, in pursuance of a law enacted by that Inca, and since several times confirmed by the Kings of Spain, on account of the great utility of the bridge, which is the only

channel of intercourse between the districts separated by the Desaguadero.

South America does not present so stupendous a succession of lakes as form the grand feature of the northern portion of the new world; yet there are several within the limits of the territory under consideration, that are worthy of description. Those of Xarayes, Guanacache, and Nahuelhupaui, have already been noticed.

The lake of TITIACA, or TITICACA, is situated in the plains that lie between the two Cordilleras of Peru, in the north-western part of the province of Los Charcas. It is the most considerable of all the lakes of South America. Its figure is irregular, but inclining to oval, and its principal direction is north-west and south-east. In circumference it is about two hundred and forty miles, and in some parts from seventy to eighty fathoms in depth. It is navigated by ships and other vessels; but is subject to storms and tremendous gusts of wind descending from the lofty mountains by which it is surrounded. The first ship that the Spaniards built upon it, was immediately driven on shore and destroyed by a violent squall, and this was considered as so ominous, that many years elapsed before another was constructed. Ten or twelve rivers, and a number of small streams empty themselves into it. Its water, though neither bitter nor brackish, is turbid, and, from its nauseous taste, not drinkable. Yet it abounds with fish, particularly of two kinds: one

large and palatable, called suchis, and the other small, insipid, and bony, termed boyas. Immense flocks of waterfowl frequent it; and its shores are covered with flags and rushes, which serve many purposes of domestic manufacture. They form the basis of the bridge just mentioned, and are used even for the construction of canoes.* The western borders of the lake are distinguished by the appellation of Chucuito, by which name the lake itself is sometimes called; and the east side bears that of Omascuyo. The banks are populous, fertile, and picturesque, thick sown with towns and villages, which are considered as the most pleasant residences of Peru.

The lake contains several islands; amongst these there is one that is very large, and gives its name Titicaca, which in the Indian language signifies a mountain of lead to the lake. It was in this island that the genius of the first Inca, Manco Capac, the illustrious founder of the empire of Peru, first conceived the design of civilizing the wandering and naked savages that till then inhabited the mountains and plains around him. Clad in garments of decency and utility, Manco Capac, with Mama Oello Huaco, his sister, and consort, declared themselves the children of the sun, sent by their beneficent parent, who beheld

* An Indian canoe, made in a very neat manner of reeds and grass, in which Mr. Helm was ferried over an arm of the lake Titicaca, one hundred and twenty-feet in breadth, is described as only about a yard broad, and flat like a raft.

with pity the miseries of the human race, to instruct and reclaim them from their ignorance, rudeness, and barbarity. The nations around revered their persons, and followed their instructions; and the introduction of agriculture and industry was followed by the establishment of laws and institutions, the policy and excellence of which produced a mighty empire, and have been the admiration of succeeding ages, and of polished Europe. The Peruvians considered the island of Titicaca as sacred, and in gratitude for the benefits derived from the founder of their race, succeeding Incas caused the mountain to be levelled and a magnificent temple of the sun to be erected on its base.*

The lake *PARIA*, which communicates with the Titicaca, as before said, by the Desaguadero, is of considerable dimensions in the rainy seasons, but contracted at others. It contains some islands,

* This was one of the most splendid temples of the empire of Peru. Besides the plates of gold and silver with which its walls were adorned, it contained an immense collection of riches, as all the subjects of the Incas were under an indispensable obligation of visiting it once a year, and offering some gift to the memory of Manco Capac. This great accumulation of wealth, however, was not destined to fall into the hands of the Spaniards, for the Indians, preferred throwing the whole into the lake, to suffering it to become the prey of their rapacious and sacrilegious invaders; and though numbers of Spaniards, animated with the hopes of acquiring immense treasures, have made frequent attempts to recover them, the great depth of the water and the slimy and muddy nature of the bottom, have always frustrated their endeavours.

and the savannahs around it feed large herds of cattle and horses.

The lake MANIORE, lies on the left of the Paraguay, and does not offer any thing remarkable, being little known, except as lying in the route of the Portuguese from Brazil to the mines of Matagrosso.

The lake IBERI, or CARACARAS, deserves a particular description. It lies to the east of the Parana, after it has joined the Paraguay, and between their united streams and the Uruguay, in the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth degrees of south latitude. It is of a very irregular figure, nearly two hundred miles in length, but little more than forty in breadth. Two rivers issue from its eastern extremity; one, by a meandering course to the south-west, falls into the Parana, under the name of the Corrientes; the other, under that of Mirinay, though it is sometimes called the Iberi, joins the Uruguay. Thus affording a very extensive and easy water-communication, through a large portion of fertile territory, neither intricate nor dangerous. The lake is studded with islands, covered with wood, and stocked with deer and other game. Vast quantities of wild fowl are seen on its surface; and fish abound in its waters, which are remarkably sweet and fresh. A number of presidencies, as the missions have been called since the expulsion of the Jesuits, are established on its shores. These are the most flourishing of the province; which is, perhaps,

owing to the beauty of the environs, and the fertility of the land, occasioned or augmented by the overflowing of the lake, which happens twice a year, and sometimes oftener.

The numerous lakes, that appear in the plains of Tucumán, and to the south of Buenos Ayres, and swallow up many of the rivers and mountain torrents that descend from the Cordillera, do not assume individually a character of sufficient magnitude or importance to deserve separate descriptions. Their principal characteristic, and that of several of the rivers that communicate with them, is their being more or less impregnated with salt.

There is an immense tract of land in these regions, the soil of which is saturated with fossil salt; six or seven hundred miles in length and one hundred and fifty in breadth. From below the latitude of Cape St. Anthony on the south, to the Rio Vermejo on the north: and throughout the greatest part of the level country to the west of the Parana and Paraguay, all the springs are more or less salt; and few of their waters can be drank, till they enter the Parana. The rivers that flow from the mountains, however, yield excellent water, till they arrive in the salt-territory. A considerable quantity of salt is refined from the earth at Assumption; but it appears in the greatest plenty between Santa Fé and Cordova; and this quality of the soil reaches to Sant Jago del Estero, where the whole ground is covered with a white incrustation of salt; and

even quite across to Rioja, at the foot of the Cordillera ; but this tract is partly barren and desert, and produces no plants except the *salsola kali*, which grows to the height of four yards. Natural salt-petre is produced in great abundance ; and, after a shower of rain the ground appears white with it, and chills the feet excessively. Little more, however, is collected than is used in manufacturing the fire-works which are displayed for the edification and amusement of the converted Indians, at the religious festivals of the Romish church.

There are salt-lakes to the south of the Saladillo, which produce very fine chrystalline-grained salt. Journies are frequently undertaken from Buenos Ayres to these salt lakes, which lie from four hundred to four hundred and fifty miles to the south-west, to procure salt, and two or three hundred carts are annually loaded with it. The lakes are large and broad, and some of them surrounded by woods to a considerable distance. Their banks are white with the salt, which needs no other preparation than being exposed a little to dry in the sun.

A lake is described, called *Mar Chiquito* or *Little Sea*, near the sea-side, and communicating with it, about fifteen miles from Cape Lobos ; and another called the lake *Cabrillos* in the same quarter ; but nothing more remarkable is stated respecting them, than the abundance of wild fowl with which they abound.

The *Rio Grande de Tebiquari*, which communicates with the ocean at Port San Pedro, and forms the lake *De Palos*, was formerly considered as the boundary between the Portuguese dominions in Brazil, and those of the Spaniards in Paraguay; but the latest line of demarcation has been drawn along the mountains at the back of lake Merim, and ends in a salt-water lagoon communicating with the sea, not far to the northward of Cape St. Maria.

Ascending and descending the courses of all these rivers, and traversing the country in search of its waters, its springs, and its lakes, the mind contemplates with pleasure and astonishment, the immense provision of fertility and convenience that is bestowed upon these extended regions, where

— thy world, Columbus, drinks, refreshed,
The lavish bounty of the melting year.

The ridges of the Cordillera are supposed to supply more water than all the ranges of mountains that intersect the magnitude of Asia, although of less than one half their extent. The indolence of the Spaniards, however, and the insatiable cupidity with which they search alone after the mineral treasures that are offered to their avarice in such abundance in South America, cause them to neglect most of the advantages to be derived from so favourable a physical conformation of their territories; nor is the navigation of any of the mighty streams of South America either prosecuted or encouraged, excepting as affording the partial

means of conveying their dollars and their ingots from one place of deposit to the other. Inattentive as to the productions, incurious as to the fertility, and insensible to the incalculable advantages of these countries and their interesting waters, they plod on in the same course in which they have continued for nearly three centuries; and it may truly be said, that the interior of South America is, to them much less known than the remotest provinces of Hindostan are to the British sovereigns of Bengal. Hence the accounts that are given of the rivers and of the interior part of the country must not be considered as wholly unimpeachable; for although their maps of South America give places and names to thousands of rivers, numerous pretended establishments, and a multitude of Indian nations, a great proportion of these are the creations of fancy, or the results of Indian reports, improbable and unauthenticated. Should, however, British perseverance follow up the victorious blow that has been struck in the capture of Buenos Ayres, little doubt can be entertained, that we shall, ere long, be in the possession of materials for verifying or expunging the greatest proportion of the names that now appear thickly sown over the maps of Spanish South America.

The plains of Tucuman and the Gran Chaco, have already been partially described. The latter are, in general, elevated and dry; though traversed by numerous rivers, and incommoded by marshes near the Paraguay. They are skirted by

forests of a grandeur and antiquity that have few parallels. They extend from the banks of the Paraguay, to the limits of the province of Los Charcas, and to the mountains that rise far to the north, and which give birth to numerous streams on either side. The Chaco abounds in the wild animals of the country, and is inhabited by scattered tribes of Indians, few of whom acknowledge either the temporal dominion of the Spaniards, or the spiritual yoke of the church. The Guyacurus are the principal nation who rove over these plains. Since the extensive multiplication of the horses and cattle, which were originally imported by the Spaniards, these Indians have, in common with most of the tribes of South America, become expert horsemen, and the most distant Spanish settlements are not unfrequently the scene of their incursions. The Jesuits had, before their expulsion, succeeded in civilizing and converting a considerable number of them; but as it was to the insinuating mildness of the missionaries that they yielded, so they have resisted the stern and military system, which has ensued, and they have become apostates from a faith, that allowed of such diametrically opposite lines of conduct.

The level country of Tucuman is more fully subdued and better known, and most of the Indians within that province are subjects of Spain, and appropriated amongst the Spanish settlers. The fecundity of a great part of this territory is contrasted by a portion that is barren and unpro-

ductive. It is interspersed with woods, and partially cultivated.

The immense plains that extend in almost uninterrupted continuity from the banks of the Plata to Chili, and to the large rivers of Patagonia, claim particular attention. They present a sea of waving grass extending for nine hundred miles, with very few interruptions of wood or eminence. The succulent and nutritive herbage of this tract, affords pasture to those innumerable herds of cattle that rove unowned and unvalued over a great portion of South America, and whose hides and tallow alone, are occasionally sought after by the Spanish hunters, and form a principal article of the trade of Buenos Ayres. Wild horses, the progeny of those imported by the Spaniards, likewise abound in these natural meads. They wander from place to place against the current of the winds; and a traveller has stated that they are in such numbers, that, being in those plains for the space of three weeks, he was continually surrounded by them. Sometimes they passed by, in thick troops on full speed, for two or three hours together, during which time, he says, it was with great difficulty, that the party preserved themselves from being run over and trampled to pieces. At other times, however, the same country has been passed over, and no horses have been seen.

Near the Spanish settlements, and where these plains have been tilled, they yield excellent corn, and various other productions; whilst numerous

flocks of sheep are also met with in the plains at the foot of the mountains of Cordova and Yacanto. Between these hills and the Cordillera of Chili, lie many spacious and fruitful vallies, watered by brooks and rivulets, and beautifully diversified with rising grounds. They produce many kinds of fruit-trees, apples, peaches, cherries, and plumbs; and also corn where the land is cultivated; but they are more particularly famous for breeding cattle, sheep, and horses, and especially mules. Of the mules yearly sent from these provinces to Peru, the greatest part comes from the districts just described. There are many farms here belonging to those industrious Spaniards who have been allured hither, by the fertility of the soil, by the facility for breeding cattle, and by the security from the incursions of the Indians, who infest those only who live more to the south.

All the rest of the country westward, between these mountains, and the first river Desaguadero, consists of plains with little water. It contains much fine pasture-land, but is uninhabited. It is over these plains that passengers from Chili to Buenos Ayres travel in companies, which they are obliged to do, as the southern tribes of Indians often go thither to hunt wild horses, and to rob such travellers as they can overpower or surprise.

The country, which is between Buenos Ayres and the river Saladillo, is a complete plain, without so much as one tree, or any rising ground, till near the banks of the river, which is sixty miles from the Spanish settlements. On the north bank

of the Saladillo there are several lakes, bogs, and hollows. In dry seasons, when grass fails near the shores of the Rio de la Plata, all the cattle that belong to the Spanish Estancias or grazing farms, of Buenos Ayres, are driven down to the banks of the Saladillo, where the grass lasts longer on account of the greater depth of soil, and longer continuance of the moisture.

These plains extend to the west as far as the Desaguadero or the province of Cuyo, and though the rivers Saladillo, Hueyque Leuvu, and the first Desaguadero run through them, yet no lesser streams cross the country and run into these main rivers; besides which no water is to be met with, except what is collected in pools when the rains fall. This country is not inhabited or cultivated, either by the Indians or by the Spaniards, although occasionally traversed by both; by the former in hunting or predatory excursions, and by the latter to pass from Mendoza to Buenos Ayres, or in pursuit of the various objects of the chase, with which it abounds. It is the abode of numerous herds of wild cattle, horses, and deer; as well as of a great abundance of ostriches, armadilloes*, partridges, wild geese, ducks, and other game; and towards the frontiers of Chili, guanacoes and vicunnas are met with in considerable numbers.

* Armadilloes are reckoned amongst the game of South America; they are considered as a delicacy, particularly when fat. Their taste is said to be something between a sucking pig and a rabbit; they are usually roasted in their armour.

These plains are called Pampas by the Spaniard and the savages who rove through them go by the same name. Troops of them, sometimes, attack travellers; but their attacks are only successful when made by surprise, or when some of the Spaniards straggle from their company. The route across the level country is often pursued by the compass, as there are no landmarks or traces by which to discover the road for many hundreds of miles. They travel in covered carts or caravans, made almost as commodious as a house, with doors to shut, and windows on each side. Matrasses are laid out on the floor, on which the passengers sleep for the greatest part of the journey. The caravans are drawn by oxen, and are accompanied by baggage-horses and mules. They set out in the afternoon, two hours before sunset, travelling all night and till an hour after sunrise in the morning: they then rest, and partake of the provisions brought with them, or taken in hunting whilst on the journey; for those who are disposed for the chace, take horses and dogs with them for the purpose. Travelling in this manner, and at so easy a rate may perhaps be considered as making the expedition a pleasant journey, but several inconveniences are enumerated, that abate the pleasure, and sometimes convert it into pain. Besides the apprehension of a surprise from the wild Indians, the excessive heats that prevail during the middle of the day, when they have no shelter from the sun than what the caravan affords,

are the most complained of. Want of water is another evil; none is sometimes to be met with for several days journey; travellers therefore are obliged to carry a supply of water with them, both for themselves and for their cattle; and when this happens to be spent, they must suffer great distress, unless they are fortunately relieved by a shower of rain. Again, when it does rain, it falls generally in excessive quantities, against which the caravans are seldom a sufficient shelter. The westerly winds too that prevail in the Pampas, and descend from the high mountains of the Cordillera, not meeting with any thing to check their impetuosity, acquire an inconceivable degree of fury, and are of course, a source of inconvenience and of danger to travellers; as well as on their arrival at the opening of the Plata, of dismay to navigators, and of terror to the inhabitants of its shores.

The route across the Pampas, by which the intercourse is carried on between Buenos Ayres and Chili, continues nearly in the same state at present as when Ovalle wrote his history of Chili; and no stations for the accommodation or protection of travellers have been established: but the road from Buenos Ayres to Peru, which is much more frequented, is rendered considerably more commodious, and as there are no wild or unsubdued Indian tribes that now lie on that track, it is free from that danger. In 1748, regular stages were fixed all the way, and posthouses were erected and

relays of horses and carriages provided. The carriages are *caretillas*, or covered waggons drawn by oxen, but the principal conveyance for all kinds of merchandize, and for the treasure that is conveyed from the mines of Peru to the banks of the Plata, is on the backs of mules.

A complete itinerary of the journey from Buenos Ayres to Potosi, and thence to Lima, and of the regular stages and distances, may not here be unacceptable, and will, when compared with the map, afford the best idea of this important route of communication. The distances are given in geographical miles, of sixty to a degree.

| | Miles |
|---------------------------------------|-------|
| From Buenos Ayres to Cannada de Moron | 15 |
| To Cannada de Escobar | 21 |

Between this and the next station runs the small river Lujam or Luxam, over which there is a bridge leading to the whole of the interior; and which is a port of some consequence, in a military point of view.

| | |
|-----------------------|----|
| To Cannada de la Cruz | 24 |
|-----------------------|----|

Here the plains of Los Pampas commence.

| | |
|----------------------|----|
| To Arcos | 18 |
| To Chacras de Ayola | 12 |
| To Arecive | 30 |
| To Pontezuelos | 12 |
| To Arroyo de Ramallo | 18 |
| To Arroyo de Elmedio | 15 |
| To Arroyo de Pabon | 15 |
| To Mananciales | 10 |

To Demochados - - - - - 30

To Esquina de la Guardia - - - - - 24

Here is a square entrenchment mounted with two pieces of cannon, for the purpose of checking the excursions of the wild Indians, who sometimes, crossing the plains of Pampas, attack those Spanish farms or villages that are weakly guarded. A captain and thirty horsemen are stationed here.

To Cabeza del Tiguer - - - - - 21

This place lies on the river Tercero, which is here crossed, and the route then proceeds along its northern bank

To Saladillo - - - - - 24

So called from the abundance of native salt-petre, which covers the ground here like a hoar frost.

To Barrancas, (a small town) - - - - - 9

To Zarjon - - - - - 12

To Frailemuerto - - - - - 12

Here the plains end, and a forest begins which continues on a gentle ascent as far as Cordova: the predatory excursions of the Indians never extend so far as this, and no further retrenchments against them occur.

To Esquino de Medrano - - - - - 18

To Paso Ferreira - - - - - 18

To Lo Tio Pafio - - - - - 12

To Cannada del Gobierno - - - - - 30

To Impira - - - - - 30

Leaving the Tercero, the route now proceeds

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| To Rio Segundo | - | - | - | - | - | 15 |
| To Punto del Monte | - | - | - | - | - | 13 |
| To Cordova, (the second place in the province of Buenos Ayres), | - | - | - | - | - | 10 |
| making the distance from Buenos Ayres to Cordova, 468 miles, | | | | | | |
| From Cordova to Noria, along the foot of a branch of the Cordillera, here called the mountains of Cordova | - | - | - | - | - | 21 |
| To Sinsacate | - | - | - | - | - | 15 |
| To Tortoral | - | - | - | - | - | 18 |
| To San Antonio | - | - | - | - | - | 15 |
| To Coral de Baranca | - | - | - | - | - | 15 |

Here the mountains rise considerably in height, and the vallies are covered with palm-trees.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| To San Pedro | - | - | - | - | - | 12 |
| To Durazno | - | - | - | - | - | 12 |
| To Channar o Cachi, (through a broad and pleasant valley) | - | - | - | - | - | 15 |
| To Ponzuelo | - | - | - | - | - | 27 |
| To Remanso | - | - | - | - | - | 24 |
| To Yuncha | - | - | - | - | - | 90 |
| To Silipica | - | - | - | - | - | 33 |
| To San Jago del Estero, (a small decayed town) | - | - | - | - | - | 33 |

After passing the Rio Dolce, on which this town lies, the vallies are very deep,

and the reflection of the heat from the sides of the mountains is very great.

| | | | | | | |
|----------------|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| To San Antonio | - | - | - | - | - | 18 |
| To Chachilla | - | - | - | - | - | 24 |
| To Vinara | - | - | - | - | - | 24 |

The river takes many windings here, and is several times passed and repassed. When the snow melts on the Cordillera it swells to a dangerous degree.

| | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| To Palmas | - | - | - | - | - | 18 |
| To Talacacha | - | - | - | - | - | 18 |
| To Tucuman, (a town of recent establishment) | | | | | | 24 |

The whole ridge of mountains, after passing this place, abounds in the precious metals, and the mines of the vicinity give wealth to the inhabitants. The mountains, before coming to Tucuman, are composed of primitive granite, intermixed with argillaceous slate of various colours. Strata of limestone, and large masses of ferruginous sandstone, lie in many places over the slate. Coal, gypsum, and rock-salt are also found in them; the latter even on the summits of the most elevated ridges. Tucuman is about 450 miles from Cordova.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| To Tapia | - | - | - | - | - | 21 |
| To Duralde, (on a mountain stream of the same name) | - | - | - | - | - | 24 |

The road is here very bad.

| | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| To Paso del Pescado, (through thick woods) | | | | | | 18 |
| To Arenal | - | - | - | - | - | 27 |

To Rosario - - - - - 15

To Concha - - - - - 20

Granite is no longer seen in the mountains, which, hence to Potosi, principally consist of simple argillaceous schistus. The main ridge rises here considerably; the woods thicken, and the trees appear loftier and larger.

To Rodeo de Tala - - - - - 24

To Pasage, on the river Salado, which, however, is here called the Pasage - - - 24

Salt is found incrustrated on the banks of this river.

To Sienage - - - - - 30

To Cobos - - - - - 21

To Salta, (a considerable place on the small river Arias) - - - - - 27

Here the route turns over the main ridge of the middle Cordillera, the summits of which are covered with snow, and hidden by the clouds. The caretillas are here laid aside, and mules alone are fit to perform the rest of the journey over the highest mountains of the globe, and through the most wretched and fatiguing roads. The journey is particularly dangerous during summer, when the numerous rapid rivers and torrents that descend through the gullies, and which are frequently crossed and re-crossed, often swell very suddenly, and carry away travellers, mules, and baggage.

A few hours after leaving Salta, the intense heat of the vallies is exchanged for the piercing cold of the snowy summits; and the woods which clothe the inferior ridges cease altogether, or are stunted and scanty.

To Caldera - - - - - 18

To Buena Voluntad - - - - - 17

To Jujui, (a small town) - - - - - 6½

To Bolcan, (situated on a pretty large torrent) - - - - - 27

The ascent is here circuitous and more gradual.

To Los Ormillos - - - - - 27

To Guacatera, (a small Indian town) - - - - - 18

The road winds as much as possible through the vallies between the mountains.

To Humaguaca - - - - - 18

Rock salt occurs here again.

To Cueba - - - - - 24

To Los Colorados - - - - - 18

The mountains are here very irregular and broken, and about eight miles farther is the highest part of this Cordillera, which the traveller passes. It is a favourite haunt of the lamas, guanacos, and vicunnas.

To Cangrejos - - - - - 40

To Guayaca - - - - - 27

To Mojos, or Moxos, (an Indian town) - - - - - 21

Here the provinces that formerly belonged to Peru, and are now incorporated with the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, com-

mence. In the mountains round Mojos are a great many veins of quartz, containing gold, copper, lead, and iron, but few of the veins containing gold are worked. Near the town, a considerable stratum of magnetical iron-sand is full of particles of gold, which is imperfectly collected by washing. Similar alluvial layers containing gold and resting on the base of argillaceous slate occur till within a short distance of Potosí.

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| To Sulipacha | - | - | - | - | - | 24 |
| To Mojara | - | - | - | - | - | 24 |
| To Bamada | - | - | - | - | - | 18 |
| To San Jago de Cotagoita | - | - | - | - | - | 12 |

Near this little town much gold is washed from the mountains.

| | | | | | | |
|--------------|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| To Escobar | - | - | - | - | - | 12 |
| To Guirbe | - | - | - | - | - | 18 |
| To Zurupalca | - | - | - | - | - | 18 |

A large mountain-stream, here decorated with the name of Rio Grande, crosses the road repeatedly, on the descent

| | | | | | | |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| To Caiza | - | - | - | - | - | 18 |
|----------|---|---|---|---|---|----|

Here is a hot spring, impregnated with hepatic gas, brimstone, and a friable clay replete with crystals of alum.

| | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| To Potosi | - | - | - | - | - | 36 |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|----|

Making from Buenos Ayres to Potosi, one thousand six hundred and seventeen geographical miles.

From the ridge of the Cordillera, through which

the above route passes, and about twelve miles from Potosi, where it inclines to the north, the torrents descend on one side to the south, and form those rivers which flow into the Paraguay and Parana, and on the other side they join the Madera, and communicate with the Maragnon. The proper time for passing the Cordillera is from the months of March to July. In the other months of the year the roads are excessively bad and dangerous; and the incessant rains, the dreadful storms of thunder and of hail, and the frequent and sudden swelling of the streams, render travelling over the mountains, at those times, a series of intolerable hardship, and imminent danger.

Till within eighteen miles of Potosi, the vallies produce small trees and bushes, but farther on they are entirely destitute of wood; and on the precipices and declivities nothing grows but patches of green spongy moss, which serves for food for the lamas, and for the sheep, asses, and mules which belong to the inhabitants of these mountainous districts. A circumstance particularly deserving of the attention of the geologist is, that the highest mountains, nine miles from Potosi, are covered with a thick stratum of granitic stones, rounded by the action of water. This is the more surprising, as the granitic ridge terminates several hundred miles towards Tucuman; whence to Potosi the mountains are chiefly composed of argillaceous slate.

A future occasion will occur to describe the city and celebrated mines of Potosi. The con-

tinuation of the itinerary to Lima, though partly beyond the political boundary of the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, is wanting to complete the knowledge of this laborious, but interesting, inland communication:—

| | Miles |
|---------------------------|-------|
| From Potosi to Jocalla is | 9 |
| To La Lenna | 18 |

Argillaceous slate continues here to be the chief component part of the mountains, with a stratum of sand-stone upon it.— Farther on, alluvial hills occur on both sides, with rounded masses of granite. The roads are very bad, and the mountains very rugged and broken. At Lenna, the granite masses are again succeeded by a stratum of deep red rough-grained sand-stone.

| | |
|---------------|----|
| To Lagumillas | 15 |
|---------------|----|

The descent begins here to be rapid, into a valley which, with little interruption, extends above six hundred miles to Cusco.

| | |
|--------------|----|
| To Tolapalca | 25 |
|--------------|----|

| | |
|-----------------|----|
| To Guilcapuzico | 12 |
|-----------------|----|

| | |
|-------------|----|
| To Aniacato | 15 |
|-------------|----|

| | |
|---------------|----|
| To Las Pennas | 25 |
|---------------|----|

The land here is fertile and populous, interspersed with villages.

| | |
|--------------------|----|
| To Condor Apocheta | 15 |
|--------------------|----|

| | |
|-------------------------|----|
| To La Venta de en Medio | 15 |
|-------------------------|----|

| | |
|---|----|
| To Oruro (formerly a wealthy place, but now much decayed) | 27 |
|---|----|

Oruro is the last place in the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres.

Here the valley becomes level.—Four miles from Oruro it is covered with a saline incrustation, mixed with saltpetre.

To Caracollo - - - - - 27

The summits of the ridge which borders the valley still continue covered with snow: it runs here north and south.

To Panduro - - - - - 15

To Sicasica (in a very fertile district) - - 24

To Tambillo - - - - - 12

To Ayoayo - - - - - 12

The mountains to the west contain many veins of rich quartz.

To Calamarca - - - - - 15

Amongst the quartzose chrystals which abound here, small topazes are sometimes found.

To Ventilla - - - - - 18

To La Paz (a considerable town) - - 12

The mountain at the foot of which La Paz is built, is the highest of the Cordillera all around, and is never free from snow at its summit. The whole ridge, from Sicasica to La Paz, abounds in rich gold ore; and there are, likewise, many veins of rich silver ore in the argillaceous slate.

To La Laja - - - - - 18

To Tiaguanaco* - - - - - 21

* The name of this place is said to have originated in the following manner:—An Inca here met with one of his messengers, whose dispatch, on the errand he had been sent, was so great;

At this place there is an immense pyramid, and a number of obelisks and colossal statues of stone, the monuments of ancient times, and by some supposed to have been erected anterior to the monarchy of the Incas. The west side of the mountains consists, as before, of fine argillaceous slate, and the Indians formerly found much rich ore in it.

To Guaqui - - - - - 12

Guaqui lies on the lake Titiaca, along the shores of which the route continues as far as Chucuito. The borders of the lake are beautifully diversified with hills and dales, and are depastured by numerous herds of oxen, mules, horses, and sheep.

To Zepita - - - - - 22

To Chesta - - - - - 12

To Pomata - - - - - 9

To Juli (a populous Indian town) - - 12

To Uabe, or Uave - - - - - 15

Six miles from Uabe there is a ferry over an arm of the lake.

To Acora - - - - - 15

To Chucuito (which gives its name to all the

that it might be compared to the swiftness of the guanaco. The Inca, alluding to this circumstance, said to the messenger, when brought into his presence, *Tia-guanaco*, be seated guanaco. To perpetuate the remembrance of the celerity of the messenger, and the condescension of the monarch, this name was substituted for that which the place formerly bore.

western shores of the lake Titiaca, and sometimes to the lake itself) - - - 9

The silver-mines of Puno, the chief town of a district of the same name, nine miles from Chucuito, are very rich; but the mines are filled with water, and the proprietors have neither the capital nor the skill requisite for draining them.

To Caracato - - - - - 24

To Calapuja - - - - - 21

The ores obtained from a soft porphyritic ridge, extending eighteen miles in this neighbourhood, are very rich, yielding about ten marks of silver per hundred weight.

To Pucara - - - - - 24

To Aguaviri - - - - - 15

To Santa Rosa - - - - - 18

To Larucachi - - - - - 27

To Concha - - - - - 18

The valley here becomes wider, and a large rapid river requires to be frequently forded.

To Chiacupi (a pleasant, fertile, and populous country) - - - - - 12

A broad river is here passed on a flying-bridge, or *tarabita*, made of basket-work, which are not unfrequent, and the construction of which will be described in the sequel.

To Quiquijani - - - - - 15

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|
| To Hureos | - | - | - | - | - | - | 12 |
| To Oropeza | - | - | - | - | - | - | 9 |

The road now begins gradually to ascend, and to diverge from the river which extends along the valley.

| | |
|--|--------------|
| To Cusco (the capital of Peru under the Incas) | 12 |
| To Zurito | - - - - - 21 |
| To Limatambo | - - - - - 18 |
| To Carretas | - - - - - 12 |

The ascent up the western Cordillera begins here, and is steep and bold. The base of argillaceous slate is covered with a superstratum of marle, gypsum, lime-stone, sand, a large quantity of rock-salt, and some fragments of porphyry. The whole ridge appears to be full of veins of heavy silver-ore, in which are found pieces of pure silver, solid copper and lead ore, intermixed with a great quantity of white silver ore and capillary virgin silver.

| | |
|--------------|--------------|
| To Carahuasi | - - - - - 13 |
|--------------|--------------|

Here is another flying-bridge over a rapid and broad river that runs towards the Maragnon. About sixty miles west from Carahuasi, some gold-mines are worked, and one of silver.

| | |
|---------------|--------------|
| To Avancay | - - - - - 36 |
| To Cochacajas | - - - - - 18 |

Soon after leaving this village, the road ascends in a zigzag direction for eight miles on one of the highest shelves of the Cor-

dillera, and descends on the other side down dangerous precipices.

To Pincos - - - - - 18

Sixty miles west of Pincos, in the province of Almaray, there are rich veins of gold ore in quartz.

To Andaguaylas - - - - - 18

To Uripa - - - - - 30

Soon after leaving Uripa, another vast ridge must be climbed and descended towards a rapid river, the passage over which is by a dangerous Indian hanging-bridge suspended by ropes, one hundred and twenty feet in length.

To Tambo de Octos - - - - - 36

To Congallo - - - - - 18

To Guamanga (the residence of a governor) 18

Rich silver ore abounds near Guamanga.

To Guanta - - - - - 18

To Parcos - - - - - 30

To Paucara - - - - - 12

To Guancavelica - - - - - 24

The famous quicksilver-mines of Guancavelica merit particular notice; and though within the viceroyalty of Lima, occasion will be taken to give a description of them hereafter.

To Cotay - - - - - 30

To Turpo - - - - - 18

The cold is very intense in the elevated regions through which the road passes.

To Vinnas - - - - - 24

The descent to Vinnas, which is situated in a narrow valley, is very precipitous.

To Jangas - - - - - 18

The path that winds down the mountains is, in many places, scarcely more than a foot broad, and one false step of the mule would precipitate himself and his rider into the abyss below.

To Lunaguana - - - - - 18

This lies in a narrow sandy valley, which produces a very great abundance of all the fruits natural to the country.

To Cannette - - - - - 18

A little beyond Cannette, the Cordillera terminates, and a sandy plain is entered.

To Asia - - - - - 18

To Mala - - - - - 12

To Chilca - - - - - 12

Here again the low vallies are incrustated with salt, above an inch in thickness. This salt, formed by the heat of the sun, is collected and sold at Lunaguana.

To Lurin - - - - - 21

To Lima - - - - - 18

In all, from Potosi to Lima, one thousand two hundred and fifteen miles; and from Buenos Ayres to Lima, upwards of two thousand eight hundred geographical miles.

Of the immense trouble, inconvenience, and expense incurred by so long a conveyance by land,

the foregoing itinerary will give some idea. Yet, the longest, though it is true not the most difficult, part, might be superseded by an inland navigation, for which the rivers of Tucuman afford every facility. The Pilcomayo has been stated to be navigable, at times, up to its source near Potosi; enterprize and industry would soon overcome the obstacles that present themselves to its complete navigation, were the country through which it passes more fully explored, and possessed by a less indolent nation. At all events, however, the Rio Vermejo has been very lately navigated with complete success down the entire course of its stream.

In 1790, Don Fernandez Cornejo, a colonel of militia, resident at Salta, undertook a voyage down the Vermejo. His object was at first thwarted by ignorance and envy; but at length he was furnished with the means of executing it by Donna Josefa Meono, the lady of Don Nicolas de Arredondo, viceroy of Buenos Ayres. He embarked in June, 1790, at a small haven or bay formed in the Vermejo, at its confluence with the Centa, on board a xebec, with a party of twenty-six persons on board his vessel and two canoes which accompanied him. After a navigation of forty-four days, he reached the spot where the Vermejo discharges itself into the Paraguay, about seventy miles to the north of Corrientes, being a distance of about a thousand miles, without encountering the least obstacle.

It was expected that the discovery of this river being so easy navigable, would have afforded great advantages to the commercial intercourse between Paraguay and Peru ; but no consequences of that kind have resulted from it, and the enterprise of Cornejo, as well as the liberality of his patroness, have been fruitless to awaken the sluggish nature of the Spanish government, or to remove the pertinacity of its subjects in following a beaten and accustomed track ; for the whole of the communication between Buenos Ayres, Potosi, and Lima, still continues to be carried on by the route just described, attended of course by great delays and heavy expenses.

It may be observed, that though Cornejo employed forty-four days to descend the river, yet, as he navigated likewise with a purpose of exploring its banks, and the country through which it ran, much time was consumed in those colateral objects of his expedition. It has been supposed that three weeks would suffice for the voyage down, and from thirty to forty days for that up the river, the current of which is by no means violent.

The mountains by which the extensive area watered by the Paraguay and its allied streams is bounded, are amongst the most remarkable in the world for height, for grandeur, and for riches. Those on the eastern side, which form the Brazilian ridge, are the least elevated. They form a cluster of mountains towards the interior provinces of Minas Geraes and Matagrosso, and diverge in chains

both to the north and south. They are generally covered with thick forests, interspersed with portions that, from their elevation or natural aridity, are devoid of vegetation. Gold is produced in many parts, and mines of that metal were explored in these mountains at the earliest period of the Portuguese settlement in Brazil. The diamonds of this country were first discovered in 1681, and are found on the eastern side of the mountains. Some rich gold-mines were reported to exist on the Spanish side of the ridge, whilst the Jesuits were in possession of the country; but they have either proved of little value, or do not actually exist, or perhaps have been purposely concealed.

Of the mountainous region to the north of Paraguay, of which Matagrosso may be called a part, little has been written, and less is known. It has been supposed that the great area of the Maragnon and the Oronoco, communicates by a large space of level country with that of the Paraguay; and even that an actual junction of the waters of these celebrated rivers takes place beyond where the lake Xarayes exists, or is supposed to exist; and this idea has been strengthened by its having been found that the Maragnon and the Oronoco actually do communicate with each other. A little reflection, however, will easily subvert this theory. The Maragnon and the Oronoco flow in parallel directions; and though some heights of land must and do intervene, to keep their beds distinct, breaks in those heights would afford channels of

communication for their waters without affecting the level of their surface. But the Paraguay, and its auxiliaries, all mighty and rapid rivers, flow in a direction widely different from the Maragnon, and form almost a right angle with it, running with a velocity that indicates a great declivity in a contrary direction away from the course of its stream. From the magnitude of these rivers, it must be concluded that the mountains, whence they rise, must be immense reservoirs of moisture, and of a size and elevation proportionate to the volume and current of the waters descending from them. Hence any breaks or interruptions in them could not afford a communication between the waters that flow in opposite courses, unless they were sunk nearly to a level with the mouths of the Maragnon and the Plata ; and in that case it is evident that such a depression would afford an inlet for the waters of the ocean from the mouths of the Maragnon, and form almost a Mediterranean sea.

The chain of mountains may therefore be considered as extending quite across the continent from Brazil to the Cordillera of Peru, taking a south-westerly range towards Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and Potosi. The province of Los Charcas, however, includes a considerable proportion of the two principal chains that run from north to south, along the eastern part of Peru. Between these two chains lie the elevated plains of Cusco, with the rugged, but rich, districts of Los Charcas.

It is here that the mountains of the Cordillera assume an aspect of unrivalled sublimity. Their elevation carries them much above the region of the clouds, and covers their aspiring summits with eternal snows. Lower down, where the snow is only temporary or occasional, naked rocks and intervening sterile and sandy deserts present themselves, bordered, however, with various kinds of lichen that grow in the crevices, and afford a commencement of vegetation. A kind of wiry grass or rush, called Ichu by the Peruvians, and which appears to be the natural food of the guanacos and vicunnas, succeeds, and is the characteristic of those tracts which the Spaniards call Paramos, in which no trees grow, and where no rain, but only snow, falls, though it dissolves almost immediately. Amidst these regions of frost and sterility, volcanos of various dimensions appear at intervals, to diversify the scene, and add to its awful sublimity. Seven craters, none of them inferior to Vesuvius or to Etna, are constantly in a state of ignition in the Peruvian chain, and no less than sixteen are enumerated along the Chilian Cordillera.

The mountains of secondary elevation are covered with stately forests; and it is down their sides, and through the dark chasms and glens that sink between them, that those numerous torrents roll, which have already been described as uniting to form the immense rivers that flow to the eastward. The narrow vallies that are interspersed

amongst them, though placed at a greater elevation above the level of the sea than the tops of the Pyrenees, enjoy, from their sheltered situation, a temperate and favourable climate, which adapts them to the production of the most luxuriant crops.

The most lofty regions are wholly uninhabitable ; but in those called Paramos, and where mines are worked or sought after, the few inhabitants are subject to asthmas, pleurisies, and rheumatisms ; and these disorders are generally fatal to such as have previously been infected with the syphilitic poison, or are addicted to the immoderate use of strong liquors, which is unfortunately too generally the case, both with those who are born there, and who have been led by cupidity to take up their abode in these unfavourable climes. The lower ranges are not afflicted with these, but are subject to more destructive scourges. Putrid and intermittent fevers are common, and are often so malignant that the inhabitants of entire towns are sometimes obliged to abandon their habitations till a change of season has purified them. It was not thus in the time of the Incas, but it is supposed that since the introduction of the sugar-cane by the Spaniards in the narrow vallies between the mountains, where the air cannot circulate freely, infectious vapours rise from the moistened soil which that cultivation requires, which, when heated by the rays of a tropical and burning sun, become mortal.

When travellers pass over the lofty ridges, it is said, that from the rarefaction of the air, they can scarcely breathe, and are afflicted with nausea. This is one of the inconveniences they suffer, but it is of trifling import when compared to the imminent danger they are exposed to in some of the narrow passes and steep declivities. The itinerary of the route from Buenos Ayres to Lima, displays some of those dangers, which appear in tenfold array along the less frequented paths across the Cordillera. Their ruggedness is not easily described. In many places the road is so narrow that the mules have scarcely room to set their feet, and in others it is a continual series of precipices. These paths are full of holes from two to three feet deep, in which the mules set their feet, and draw their bellies and the rider's legs along the ground. Indeed these holes serve as steps, without which the precipices would, in a great measure, be impracticable; but should the creature happen to set his foot between two of these holes, or not place it right, the rider falls; and, if on the side of the precipice, inevitably perishes. The danger is, however, greater, where these holes, or camelones as the Spaniards call them, are wanting. For the tracks are extremely steep and slippery, in general chalky and wet; and where there are no holes to serve as steps, Indians are obliged to go before with small spades, which they carry with them for that purpose, to dig little trenches across the path. This work is continual,

every party requiring a repetition of it, for in less than a night, the rain utterly destroys all the trenches cut during the preceding day. In descending these places, where there are no holes or trenches, and which are sometimes several hundred yards deep, the instinct of the mules that are accustomed to pass them, is admirable. They are sensible of the caution requisite in the descent. On coming to the top of an eminence, they stop, and having placed their fore feet close together, as in a posture of stopping themselves; they also put their hind feet together, but a little forwards as if going to lie down. In this attitude, having, as it were, taken a survey of the road, they slide down with the swiftness of a meteor. All the rider has to do is to keep himself fast in the saddle, without checking his beast; for the least motion is sufficient to disorder the equilibrium of the mule, in which case they must both unavoidably perish. The address of these creatures is here truly wonderful, for in this rapid motion, when they seem to have lost all government of themselves, they follow exactly the different windings of the path, as if they had before accurately reconnoitered, and previously settled in their minds, the route they were to follow, and taken every precaution for their safety, amidst so many irregularities. There would indeed otherwise be no possibility of travelling over such places, where the safety of the rider depends on the experience and address of his beast.

But the longest practice in travelling these dangerous roads, cannot wholly divest them of a dread or horror which they shew when they arrive at the top of a steep declivity. They stop without being checked by the rider; and if he inadvertently endeavours to spur them on, they remain immoveable, nor will they stir from the spot till they have put themselves in the above-mentioned posture. They seem to be actuated by reason; for they not only attentively view the road, but they tremble and snort at the danger. The Indians go before, and place themselves along the sides of the mountains, holding by the roots of trees, to animate the beasts with shouts, till they at once start down the declivity.

There are indeed some places where these declivities are not on the sides of precipices; but the road is so narrow and hollow, and the sides so perpendicular, that the danger is almost equal; for the track being extremely confined, and scarcely wide enough to admit the mule with its rider; if the beast falls, the man must be crushed, or, for want of room to disengage himself, have a limb broken. It is really wonderful to observe the mules, after they have overcome the first emotions of fear, and are going to slide down the declivity, with what exactness they stretch out their fore legs, that by preserving a due equilibrium they may not fall on one side, yet, at a proper distance, make with their bodies, that gentle inclination necessary to follow the several windings of

the path ; as well as their address in stopping themselves at the end of their impetuous career. The human species could not shew more prudence or conduct than the mules do ; and some of them, after being long used to these journies, acquire a kind of reputation for their skill and safety, and are accordingly highly valued.

Most of the torrents that are passed in travelling over the Cordillera, are fordable ; though their impetuosity when swelled by rains is often such as to detain travellers for several days. But where they are too deep to be forded, or the banks too inaccessible, bridges are thrown over them of a singular make, but such as, notwithstanding their apparent dangerous and fragile construction, are found to answer the purposes required. Where the river is very narrow with high banks, they are constructed of wood ; and consist only of four long beams laid close together over the precipice, and forming a path of about a yard and a half in breadth, being just sufficient for a man to pass over on horseback, and custom has rendered those bridges so natural to the natives that they pass over them without any apprehension. Where the breadth of the river will not admit of any beam to be laid across, bujucos bridges are thrown over. In the construction of these, several bujucos, a kind of thin elastic cane, are twisted together, so as to form a large cable of the length required. Six of these are stretched from one side of the river to the other, two of which are considerably

higher than the other four. On the lower four are laid sticks in a transverse direction, and over these, branches of trees; the two uppermost are fastened to the others in the form of rails, for the security of the passengers, who would otherwise be in no small danger from the continual oscillation. These bujuco-bridges are only for men, the mules swim over the rivers, for which purpose, when their burthens are taken off, they are driven into the water considerably above the bridge, that they may reach the opposite bank near to it, as the velocity of the current carries them a good distance down. In the mean time the Indians carry over the loading on their shoulders.

Some rivers, instead of a bujuco-bridge, are passed by means of an invention denominated a tarabita. This machine not only carries over the passengers, but also their cattle, and loading. They are used to pass those torrents, whose rapidity, and the large stones continually rolling along them, render it impossible for the mules to swim over them. The tarabita is only a single rope made of bujuco, or of thongs of an ox-hide, twisted together, and about six or eight inches in thickness. This rope is extended across the river, and fastened on each bank to strong posts. On one side is a kind of wheel or winch to straiten or slacken the tarabita to the degree required. From the tarabita hangs a kind of leathern hammock, capable of holding a man; and suspended by a clue at each end. A rope is fastened to each

end of the hammock, and extended to each side of the river, for drawing the hammock to the side intended. A push at its first setting off, sends it quickly to the other side.

For carrying over the mules two tarabitas are necessary, one for each side of the river, and the ropes are much thicker and slacker. The creature is suspended and secured by girths round the belly, neck, and legs. It is then shoved off, and immediately landed on the opposite shore. The mules that are accustomed to be carried over in this manner, never make the least motion; but it is with great difficulty that they are at first brought to suffer the girths to be put round them; and when they find themselves suspended, they kick and fling in a terrible manner.

Amidst all these dangers and inconveniences, the security against robbery is, perhaps, some compensation. Single persons travel unarmed with a great charge of gold and silver, equally safe, as if strongly guarded. If a traveller happens to be fatigued in a desert, he may lie down and sleep without the least apprehension of danger. Or if he takes up his lodgings in a tambo*, he may sleep with the same security, though the doors are always open.

A singular optical phenomenon is recorded as

* Tambos were originally public buildings in the nature of the Turkish caravanserais, erected by the Incas, along their principal roads for the accommodation of travellers; but the name is not unfrequently given to the Spanish inns or posthouses along the route.

occurring to those who visit the tops of the Cordilleras. The figure of the observer is seen reflected upon the clouds, its head surrounded by concentric circles of the prismatic colours, making generally three circular iris^s, and at some distance, a fourth arch entirely white. This reflected figure moves in whatever direction the person of the observer does; but what is most remarkable is, that when several persons are together, each one sees the phenomenon with regard to himself, but can not perceive it as relating to the others.

The mean height of the Cordilleras of Peru is estimated at fifteen thousand feet above the level of the sea, and the most elevated peaks rise to the inconceivable height of upwards of twenty thousand feet.

The Chilian Cordillera does not yield in elevation to the general height of the whole stupendous ridge. The summits are here also covered with perpetual snows, whence the whole chain is called by the Indians *Pseu Mahuisau*, or Snowy Mountain. Gentle eminences, and pleasant vallies encompassed with high hills, are dispersed along the foot of the Cordillera, but the principal ridge rises, in general, abrupt and steep, with frequent and frightful precipices. The road across the mountains near Mendoza, though both difficult and dangerous, is not so much so, as those over the Peruvian mountains, and it seldom requires more than one day's journey for the ascent, and another for the descent. The hollows are never

without snow even during the summer, and in the winter there is great danger of being frozen to death. Many travellers have lost their lives by attempting to pass them before the snows were sufficiently melted. Many brooks and torrents are, as it were, imprisoned between high and perpendicular banks, and roar and foam in unfathomable and dark abysses, till they break out and extend over the plains. Near Mendoza there is a remarkable rock-bridge, an immense natural arch being thrown over the current of an impetuous torrent. The mountains produce many large and lofty pine-trees; and the vales at their foot, are fertile in corn and fruit.

The mountains of Cordova, Yacanto, and Achala, are secondary ridges, that branch off from the Cordillera, whence likewise one is sent off in the latitude of the great Desaguadero, which, under the Indian appellation of Casuhati, signifying high mountain, runs nearly across to the Atlantic. These southern mountains are nearly covered with thick, and almost impenetrable, woods, and are very little known.

What, however, most attracts the attention in the Cordilleras, is the mineral treasure contained in their bowels. The incalculable riches in gold and silver which they produce, surpass the conception of the most insatiable cupidity. They were the magnets that attracted thither the adventurers of the sixteenth century; these soon converted the golden age of Peru into an iron

one; and the sword of oppression was triumphantly swayed over the vanquished Indians, whose gold became the prey of their conquerors. It is the mines that attract settlers and inhabitants in the sterile, and scarcely habitable districts where they are found to abound the most: and it is the mines that have been, and are, the cause of that cruel bondage and oppression in which the natives are held by the Spaniards.

Besides gold and silver, mercury, copper, lead, iron, and platina are found in the Cordillera. All are comparatively neglected, however, by the Spaniards, for the gold and silver-mines, except those which yield mercury, on account of the use of quick-silver in the separation of the precious metals from their ores. Copper used to be extracted and worked by the ancient Peruvians; and they had a method of hardening it, so as to render it useful in lieu of iron tools. Copper axes and other utensils of this description have been found amongst the ruins of their palaces, and in their guacas or tombs. The incurious or haughty spirit of the conquerors neglected or disdained to enquire into the secret by which this purpose was effected. The art is now lost*, but it is no improbable con-

* Of the supine and incurious disposition of the Spanish colonists, the following is a remarkable instance:—Various figures of animals and insects, of massy gold, the work of the ancient Peruvians, had been preserved in the treasury of Quito till the year 1740; when, in order to obtain supplies for raising the siege of Carthagena,

jecture that some combination of platina with the copper may have given it the requisite hardness and durability, and have preserved it from ever rusting or corroding, which is one of the qualities of the Peruvian composition. Platina is a metal that is now well known, though extremely scarce. It was first made known in Europe, in 1748, by De Ulloa; though an English metallurgist, Wood, brought over, in the year after, from Jamaica, several specimens of it, which he had received nine years before from Carthagena, and on which he had made experiments before any other person. It is generally found blended with gold, with iron, and with magnetic sand. From these it is easily separated by proper chymical processes. It has nearly the same specific weight with gold, is malleable and ductile, though not in the same degree. Its precipitate may be made to assume an infinite variety of colours, and M. de Milly, in making experiments upon it, produced an entire painting, in which scarcely any colours were employed but such as were produced from platina. It is not dissoluble by any simple acid; it does not tarnish in the air, or ever rust: to the indestructibility of gold it unites a hardness almost equal to iron, and a much greater degree of infusibility.

Gold and silver were so plentiful in Peru, in

then attacked by the English, they were melted down, whilst not one Spaniard could be found in Peru, that would purchase a single article at its weight.

the sixteenth century, that the annual registered exportations to Spain for twenty-five years successively are stated to have amounted to thirteen millions of pieces of eight, besides what had passed without account. Gold is found in greater or lesser quantities in every part of Peru, in the higher parts of Tucuman, and all over Chili. It is either worked in mines, gathered from the sands, or collected from the streams. Masses or lumps of virgin or pure gold often occur in the mines; but marcassite is the form in which it more generally appears there. There is, however, ten times more gold found in grains in the beds of rivulets than in any other way.

Marcassite of gold is in little balls or nodules, about the size of walnuts, nearly round, heavy, and of a brown colour without. The metallic stones that contain gold, usually also contain some other mineral matter; antimony, vitriol, sulphur, copper, platina, or silver, and particularly the last.

The method used in South America for the separation of the gold, is first to break the metallic stone pretty small with iron mallets; after which it is carried to the mills, where it is ground into a very fine powder, and then passed through several wire sieves, one after another, the last being the finest. The powder is then laid in wooden troughs with quicksilver and water: it is kneaded, and left to saturate in the air and sun for forty-eight hours. The water is then poured

off, and the recrementitious earth is readily separated, leaving the gold and quicksilver amalgamated. The quicksilver is then evaporated by distillation, and the gold is fused in crucibles, and cast into plates or ingots.

But the process for separating and refining both gold and silver, is conducted throughout the Spanish settlements in an ignorant and slovenly manner. Scarcely two-thirds of the metal is procured that is contained in the ore, and twice or three times the quantity of quicksilver requisite is wasted. Nor does it appear, that the attempts lately made to introduce, through the means of scientific German mineralogists, a more perfect process, have been successful. Frustrated and counteracted by the prejudices of some, by the sinister motives of others, and by the supineness and ignorance of all of the directors or managers of the Royal mines, their endeavours have been fruitless, and their expeditions unavailing.

There are two kinds of silver-mines; the one where silver is found scattered about in smaller or greater quantities, and more or less combined with other substances; and the other where it runs in veins, more or less pure, between the rocks. When the silver has been extracted from the ore, it first appears in porous lumps of pure silver that are left after the exhalation of the quicksilver, and are called *pinnas* by the Spaniards. As silver in this state has not paid the royal duty, it is liable to

seizure when found any where, but in the transit from the mines to the mint.

The tools of the Indian miners are very badly contrived and unwieldy. The hammer, which is a square piece of lead of twenty pounds weight, exhausts their strength ; the iron a foot and a half long is very incommodious, and can not, in some narrow places, be made use of. The thick tallow candles, wound round with wool, which are used in the mines, tend to add to the vitiation of the air, already too noxious in these subterranean abodes.

The miners break the stones in which the metal is found in large pieces, which are stamped in the *ingenios reales* or royal engines, which consist of hammers, lifted up and down by a wheel. These hammers weigh about two hundred pounds, and fall with sufficient violence to reduce the hardest stones to powder ; though to render them more friable, they are sometimes roasted or calcined in an oven. The powder is sifted through iron or copper sieves, the finest is taken away and the rest is returned to the mill.

In the little mines, mills with grindstones are used instead of the *ingenios* ; and the ore is ground with water, which makes a liquid mud that runs into a receiver. If ground dry, it must be afterwards wetted and well kneaded with the feet, for a considerable time. The mud is disposed upon a floor, in square parcels about a foot thick, each of them containing half a *caxon* or chest, which is

twenty-five quintals or hundred weight of ore, and these are called *cuerpos* or bodies. On each of these, about two hundred weight of sea-salt is thrown, which is moulded and incorporated with the earth for two or three days. After this the proportion of quicksilver which they judge necessary is added to the mass. An Indian is employed to mould one of these *cuerpos* eight times a day, that the mercury may amalgamate with the silver, to accelerate which they frequently mix lime with it; and sometimes they also strew over it some pulverized lead or tin-ore. In cold weather the operation goes on very slowly; so that they are often obliged at Potosi and Lipes to mould the ore during a month or six weeks; but in warmer districts the amalgamation is completed in eight or ten days.

When the silver is supposed to be all collected, the ore is carried to a bason, into which a stream of water runs, to wash it, and an Indian stirs it with his feet to dissolve it, and loosen the metal from the earth. From the first it passes into a second, and thence into a third bason, in each of which the operation is repeated. When all has been washed and the water runs clear, the mercury incorporated with the silver, which is called in that state *lapella*, is found at the bottom of the basons, which are lined with leather. This is put in a woollen bag, and hung up for the quicksilver to drain through; it is then beat with flat pieces of wood, and pressed by a weight laid upon it:

when as much of the quicksilver as can be got out by this means is expelled, they put the paste into a mould of wood in the form of an octagon pyramid cut short, at the bottom of which is a copper plate full of little holes ; being stirred and pressed in this mould, the paste becomes stiff and consistent ; the wood-work is then taken away, and the incipient pinna is placed with its copper base on a kind of trivet over a great earthen vessel full of water. It is covered with an earthen cap upon which lighted coals are put ; and the fire is fed for some hours, that the quicksilver may evaporate in smoke. The smoke, however, having no passage out, circulates in the hollow between the mass and the cap, till, coming down to the water, it condenses into quicksilver again.

There now remains a spongy lump of contiguous grains of silver, very light and crumbling, which is called pinna, and is, as before said, a contraband commodity, as all the silver is obliged to be carried to the royal receipt, or mint, in order to pay the duties to the king.

The pinnas are cast into ingots, on which the arms of the crown are stamped, as also those of the place where they are cast, with their weight and assay. It is always certain that the ingots which have paid the fifth have no fraud in them ; but it is not always so with the pinnas, for the persons who make them frequently convey iron, sand, and other things into the middle of them, in order

to increase the weight. To detect this they should be opened, and made red hot, for, if falsified, the fire will either turn it black or yellow, or melt it easily.

The tediousness and waste of the process here described, sufficiently justifies the harshness of the censures bestowed upon the metallurgy of the Spaniards in America by Helms; and give probability to the calculation that one third of the silver is completely lost, and twice the time and expense incurred which a more enlightened mode would complete the operation in.

The ore, or, to speak in the language of the country, the *mineral*, from which the silver is extracted, is of various natures, consistencies, and colours. In the mines of Lipes and Potosi it is generally white and grey, mixed with red or blueish spots, which is called *plata blanca*, or white silver; in this ore, when broken, there generally appears some small grains of pure silver, and thin branches or veins running along the layers of the stone. Some ores, on the contrary, are as black as the dross of iron, and are called *negrillos*; but sometimes it is black with lead, on which account it is called *plomo ronco*, or coarse lead: the silver here appears when scratched, and is generally procured at the least charge; because, instead of moulding it with quicksilver, it is melted in furnaces, where the fire evaporates the lead, and leaves the silver pure and clean. The *negrillos*

are esteemed amongst the richest ores, and yield from fifty to sixty marks of silver per caxon.

There is another sort of ore, rich, like the last, and affording the finest silver; but it turns red if wetted and rubbed against iron, for which reason it is called *rosicler*, or the ruddiness of the morning. There is some that glitters like talc, but it yields little silver, and is called *zoroche*; it is, however, soft, and the metal easily extracted from it. There is some green, not much harder than the last, and called *cobrisso*, or copperish; it is difficult to manage, on account of the copper it contains. But the most scarce and valuable ore is that which appears in entangled threads of pure silver, so fine that it is called *arana*, from its resemblance to the web of a spider.

The mineral veins, of whatever kind, are generally richer in the middle than towards the edges; and when two veins cross one another, the place where they meet is always rich. It has also been observed, that those which lie north and south are richer than such as lie in any other direction. If the mines sink downwards, they are liable to be flooded, and many of the richest have been overflowed and entirely lost; for neither the spirit, the capital, or the industry of the proprietors have been found adequate to overcome this calamity when it occurs, which, in the shelving declivities of the mountains, and amidst their plenitude of waters, is very frequently the case.

A great variation takes place in the produce and value of mines, independent of any accidents to them. Some are extremely rich at first, but as speedily exhausted; a remarkable instance of which is that which was discovered in 1703, at Ucuntaya, which yielded at first as much as two thousand five hundred marks, of eight ounces each, out of every caxon,* being nearly one-fifth part of the ore; but this rich crust was soon exhausted, and the mine below it was found to be less productive than the average of others. Exhausted mines, however, have, on being worked again, after considerable intervals, been found to be recruited; and the generation of minerals in the earth has been verified by experience at Potosi, where several mines having fallen in, and buried the workmen and their tools, their bones and some pieces of wood have been afterwards discovered with veins of silver actually running through them.

The mines belong to the person who first discovers them, who immediately presents a petition to the government to have such a piece of ground, which is granted of course. A spot, eighty Spanish yards in length and forty in breadth, is then measured for the discoverer, who does what he pleases with it. The same quantity is then measured for the king, and sold to the best pur-

* The caxon contains about fifty hundred weight.

chaser. It is not always the discoverers who work the mines, but frequently others, who undertake the business, bargain with them for particular spots; and many of the proprietors of the mines find more account in letting out their ground, than in working it themselves.

The richest and most celebrated mines of South America are found in the province of Los Charcas, within the jurisdiction of the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, and with them it will be proper to commence in giving a description of such mines as are particularly worthy of notice. Previously to this, however, it will not be uninteresting to view, in the following table, presented to the public by Helms, a specification of the various mines that are at present in a state of exploration in the different districts of the viceroyalty, as registered in the chancery; viz.—

| DISTRICTS. | MINES OF | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------|---------|---------|------|-------|
| | Gold. | Silver. | Copper. | Tin. | Lead. |
| Tucuman - - - | 2 | 1 | 2 | — | 2 |
| Mendoza - - - | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Atacama - - - | 2 | 2 | 1 | — | 1 |
| Caranges - - - | — | 2 | 1 | — | — |
| Lipes - - - - | 2 | 1 | 1 | — | 1 |
| Porco - - - - | 1 | 2 | 1 | — | — |
| Potosi - - - - | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Pacages or Berenguela | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Chucuito - - - | — | 2 | — | — | — |
| Puno - - - - | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Lampa - - - - | — | 2 | — | — | — |
| Chicas y Tarija - - | 4 | 5 | — | — | 1 |
| Cochabamba - - - | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Zicazica - - - - | 2 | — | — | — | — |
| Lavicaja - - - - | 4 | — | — | — | — |
| Omascuyo - - - - | 4 | — | — | — | — |
| Avangaro - - - - | 3 | — | — | — | — |
| Carabaya - - - - | 2 | 1 | — | — | — |
| Chayanza - - - - | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Misque - - - - | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| Paria - - - - | — | 1 | — | 1 | 1 |
| Montevideo - - - | 1 | — | — | — | — |
| Total | 30 | 27 | 7 | 2 | 7 |

It was from the mines of *Porco*, that the Incas principally drew the silver which embellished their palaces, and added splendour to their temples; and it was these and those in the vicinity of *La Plata* that the Spaniards first explored. Those of *Porco* were very rich, and it is stated that a miner once found a lump of metal, which was estimated to be worth three millions of piastres. Pizarro founded the city of *La Plata* in the year 1539, and its mines, until the casual discovery of those of *Potosi*, were considered as the most productive, and the most deserving of attention. But, both these, and those of *Porco*, have fallen into much disrepute; eclipsed by the immense riches discovered in the mineral mountain of *Potosi*, they have become of minor consequence, have been neglected, and in part overflowed.

The discovery of the famous silver-mine of *Potosi*, was the effect of accident. An Indian named Hualpa, in the year 1545, pursuing some mountain-goats, and climbing up the rocks, laid hold of a small shrub to support himself, the roots of which gave way, and laid open to his view a mass of pure silver, whilst he found some lumps of the same metal amongst the clods that adhered to the root. For a considerable time Hualpa kept his good fortune to himself, and applied to his hidden treasure occasionally, and when his wants or his inclination prompted him. The change that occurred in his fortune, however, became apparent to one of his friends, named Guanica, to

whose pressing entreaties he yielded, and to whom he discovered his secret. For some time they enjoyed the benefits of the mine in partnership; but Hualpa refusing to inform his friend the method he pursued to purify the metal, Guanica revealed the secret to his master, a Spaniard, named Villaroel, who lived at Porco. On receiving this information, the mine was worked without delay, and to an immense advantage.

This first mine was called the Discoverer, as having been the occasion of discovering other sources of riches in the bowels of the mountain; for in a few days, another was found equally rich, and called the Tin-mine; another, surpassing all the rest, is distinguished by the name of Rica, and, with a fourth, called the Mendieta, constitute the principal mines of Potosi; but there are a great number of smaller ones crossing the mountain on all sides. The principal veins, however, lie on the north side of the mountain, and in a direction from north to south. The mountain is of a conical shape, and almost eighteen miles in circumference at the base. It is chiefly composed of a yellow argillaceous slate, full of veins of ferruginous quartz. The soil is naturally dry, cold, and barren. The mines of Potosi are rendered the more valuable, as the miners are less obstructed by water in carrying on their works, than they generally are in other mines, though some of them are here sunk upwards of two hundred fathoms deep. Such large quantities of silver-ore have been

drawn from the mountain, that it is now entirely undermined; and the rock has been opened at the bottom, and galleries dug horizontally to meet the veins of silver. These vaults which penetrate into the bowels of the mountain are called *sacabouas*; they are about eight feet broad and six feet high. The miners labour in these subterraneous passages deprived of the light and heat of the sun; and the air in them is so cold and unwholesome, that nausea is immediately felt upon entering them. They work alternately night and day, always by candle-light, and entirely naked, to prevent them from concealing or embezzling any part of the treasure*.

From experiments made from upwards of three hundred specimens of the rude ores of Potosi, they were found to contain on an average, from six to

* In the royal mines, compulsory measures are resorted to, and the Indians are forced to work in them by *metas*, or personal service; respectively in proportion to the number by whom the tribute is paid, they are compelled to repair, from different provinces, to the mines of Huancavelica and Potosi. If they fail in punctual attendance, a fine of thirty piastres, named by the Indians *faltriguerras*, is imposed on them. Every Spaniard, when the mines were first worked by them, had several Indians assigned to him for his personal work in them; but the oppression and labour they endured soon reduced the numbers of these wretched servitors so much, that when a royal ordinance was deemed necessary to relieve them, few remained alive to avail of the partial redress. The mines are yet chiefly worked by Indians, but they are now regularly paid, and have necessaries allowed them under the inspection of government-agents.

eight marks of silver in every caxon: but some solid silver-ore, of a greyish brown cast, yielded twenty marks of silver per caxon. Altogether, there are about three hundred mines or pits in the mountain that are worked; but all of them irregularly, and few of them to a greater depth than seventy yards. A main conduit for carrying off the water, which was begun in 1779, is carried on for about two miles; but has not a proper slope to answer the purpose effectually in many of the pits. It intersects eight lodes or veins which are yet unworked, running in a direction nearly from north to south; the best of them is galena, about two feet deep, and is said to yield eight marks of silver per caxon.

Acosta relates that, during the first forty years in which the mines of Potosi were wrought, they produced the enormous sum of one hundred and two thousand millions of pieces of eight: but this calculation must be grossly exaggerated. It appeared, however, by the public accounts, that before the year 1638, the king's fifth of the silver produced and registered from the mines of Potosi, had amounted to 395,619,000 dollars, which, in ninety-three years, the time elapsed since they had been discovered, makes 41,255,043 for the average produce registered, per annum, exclusive of the great quantities that must have been conveyed away clandestinely and without paying the royal duty, and the silver manufactured into utensils and ornaments for the churches and convents,

which consists of a large quantity, all the religious establishments in the country, and particularly in the city of Potosi, being extremely rich in plate. But the produce of these mines, either from exhaustion or defective management, has fallen off in an amazing degree; the progressive diminution appears from the following calculations of the amount of the royal duties :

From 1545 to 1564, being the space of 20 years, they amounted, on an average, to 6,750,000 piastres per annum ;

From 1564 to 1585, 21 years, to 2,812,398 piastres per annum ;

From 1585 to 1624, 39 years, to 2,248,388 piastres per annum ;

From 1624 to 1633, 9 years, to 1,124,000 piastres per annum ;

and in the year 1763, they were so much lessened as to yield only 253,090 piastres. But it is not easy to calculate from these data the actual quantity of silver produced in the mines; for the duties, though passing generally under the denomination of the king's fifth, have varied considerably at different periods, nor have they been at all times uniform in every part of Spanish America. The duty at first levied, was one entire fifth ; but it was afterwards, in some cases, reduced to one-tenth, and in others to one-twentieth. The duties actually paid upon the silver when melted and refined at the royal mint, are

One half per cent *cobos*, or old established duty to the king ;

Six per cent *real diesmo*, or the king's tenth ;

Six per cent *derechos de fundicion*, to defray the expense of melting and refining ;

One real de plata on every mark of silver, for the salaries, &c. of the royal tribunal of mines, equal to $1\frac{1}{8}$ per cent ;

In all fourteen and one-sixteenth per cent. As soon as the silver is melted, stamped, and proved, eight piastres, five reals, and thirteen maravedis de plata*, are paid by the mint for each mark of eight ounces. Gold pays only four per cent *real diesmo*, which with the expense of melting, &c. makes $11\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. The royal treasury allows sixteen piastres per ounce for it, if of the fineness of twenty-two carats, which is the general standard of the gold of Peru.

Besides the uncertainty arising from the fluctuations in the duties, the amounts of them are often confounded with other objects in the custom-house accounts, such as the duties on quicksilver, &c. and they do not therefore afford any just criteria, by which to form a judgement on the

* The piastre, or peso de plata, also called peso fuerte, hard dollar, is the coin in which the accounts are generally kept in the Spanish colonies ; but in Spain, an imaginary money, called peso de vellon, paper dollar, obtains in their accounts, which is worth about 3s. 7d. sterling ; the value of the peso fuerte is well known, and unless otherwise expressed, it is always this which is meant in this work by the piastre.

subject. The amount, however, of the gold and silver, coined at Potosi in the year 1790, is ascertained to have been 299,846 piastres in gold; and 2,983,176 piastres in silver.

The want of timber for the construction of machinery*, and the necessity of bringing all the necessaries of life from other parts to this sterile district, are great impediments to a spirited exploration of the mines of Potosi; but it is supposed, that with a moderate degree of skill and diligence, their produce might, at least, be the quintuple of what it is under the ignorant and defective management of the Spaniards.

The silver-mines of *Lipes* are very abundant; the richest, however, which is called the table of silver, has been inundated and abandoned. That of St. Christopher de Acochacla, was formerly one of the most famous in all Peru, the metal being in some parts cut out with a chisel; but it has now greatly declined. Many gold-mines were formerly also worked here; they were long forsaken; but two are now explored with some advantage, also one of copper, the strata of which are intermixed with gold, silver, iron, and loadstone.

In *Puno*, there are several gold-mines, which are

* Brushwood and charcoal for fuel must be brought from a distance of, from thirty to sixty miles; and large timber is conveyed even from Tucuman, whence it must be dragged by immense manual labour across the mountains. A piece of timber, sixteen inches square and thirty-four feet in length, cost at Potosi, the value of two hundred pounds sterling.

gone to decay, through the negligence and inability of the inhabitants. At *Choroma* and *Estarca*, there are gold and silver-mines; and there are several good mines in the district denominated *Gran Chocayo*, which are very little wrought on account of the want of Spanish inhabitants. *Esmoraca* and *Cerrillos*, which are in the department of *Chicas*, yield an abundance of silver, and a small proportion of gold of a very fine quality.

It was not far from the town of *Puno* that, in the year 1660, Joseph Salcedo, discovered the mine of *Layacota*. It proved a most abundant one, and the metal was chiselled out of it. The liberal mind of Salcedo, far from being cramped by his good fortune, as is too often the case with those who seek after the riches that are buried in the bowels of the earth, occasioned him to feel delight in participating with others the benefit which fortune had lavished on him; and he gave permission to all the adventurers who arrived from Old Spain to seek their fortunes in the new world, to work for several days in his mine for their own benefit, without weighing or limiting the extent of his noble gift. His unexampled generosity drew around him a number of needy as well as of desperate adventurers; their cupidity drove them into quarrels; arms were resorted to, and a disturbance excited; Salcedo, who had done all in his power to quell their sanguinary tumults, was imprisoned, and condemned to die, as the author of the riot. Whilst he was in con-

finement, the waters rushed into his mine and destroyed the works and with them all hopes of gain. This event was long looked at, as a divine punishment of the crime committed by government in the execution of such a man. In 1740, however, Diego de Baena, associated himself with some other men of an equally enterprising disposition, to drain off the flood which had drowned so large a treasure. In 1754, their works were so far advanced, that the mine was partially opened afresh; and it has since continued to be worked, though not so productively as anterior to the catastrophe of Salcedo.

Oruro has many gold and silver-mines, the former of which, though known from the time of the Incas, have seldom since been worked; but those of silver yielded great riches to the inhabitants. About the beginning of last century, several of them were overflowed, and all the efforts used to drain them proved unsuccessful. In the mountains of Popo, twelve leagues from the town, however, some considerable silver-mines were wrought, till the year 1779, when, in an extensive insurrection of the Christian Indians of La Plata and Peru, the greatest part of the inhabitants of Oruro were destroyed, and those who escaped mostly emigrated to Europe. Hence the mines are now in a state of decay and neglect from the want of pecuniary resources. Intelligent miners might derive great profit from them; for one active individual, by the imperfect old me-

thod of amalgamation, obtained in 1796, a clear weekly gain of about eighty pounds sterling from the residuum, formerly thrown away and found in the abandoned mines.

Sicasica has two gold-mines, and some silver ones, but the latter are neither numerous nor rich. The former are reckoned very productive; they belong to Indian natives.

The mountains extending from *Sicasica* to *La Paz*, and that lofty one, at the foot of which the latter city is built, abound in rich gold-ore; and in the year 1681, when a mass of the rock was detached by the effects of lightning, from the mountain of *Illimani*, lumps of pure gold, weighing from two to fifty lbs. were severed from the stone, and so large a quantity of gold was extracted from it, that it was sold in *La Paz*, at the rate of eight piastres per ounce. The great elevation of this mountain prevents it from being properly worked, yet a quantity of gold is regularly extracted from it; and in the sand washed down by the rains, pieces of gold are found, some of which weigh an ounce. In the year 1730, an Indian, washing his feet in the river, found a lump of gold of so large a size that the Marquis de Castel Fuerte gave twelve thousand pieces of eight for it, and sent it to Spain as a present worthy the curiosity of his sovereign.

In *Chucuito*, the ores obtained from a soft porphyritic ridge, extending about eighteen miles, are very rich, yielding about ten marks of silver per

hundred weight. There are likewise some rich veins of gold, but they are not worked.

The mines of *Pasco* are, or may be made, very productive. This mineral territory is properly called the mountain of St. Stephen de Lauricocha. The discovery of these mines took place accidentally about the year 1630. An Indian named Huari-Capcha, led his flock to pasture on the heights, and being obliged to pass the night in that situation sought shelter behind a crag. He kindled a large fire, and was surprised to find at break of day, amongst the ashes, several grains of melted silver. Contrary to the general custom of the Indians, who, dreading the labour of the mines, conceal them as much as possible from the Spaniards, he communicated this intelligence to Don Juan de Ugarte, a rich proprietor who resided in the neighbourhood, and who proceeded immediately to explore the heights. On and near the spot where the fire had been kindled, he found passages leading to several mines, which were afterwards wrought with the greatest success. The fame of the mines of Ugarte soon drew a considerable population to the wild and dreary heaths around them; and in a little time a Spanish settlement was formed, where before not a hut was to be seen to afford shelter to a solitary Indian. In 1669, a royal mint was established in the city of *Pasco*, about two leagues from the mountain of Lauricocha.

With what success these mines were wrought,

after the abundant stores of wealth they yielded in the first instance, has not been ascertained; but it is certain that this mineral territory was at length exposed to the calamity which has attended so many of the others: the greatest part of the mines were overflowed, and rendered unserviceable. Don Martin de Retuerto, who became the proprietor of the mine after Ugarte, made an aperture at the base of the mountain, and was the first to ascertain the true direction of the veins of metal. He was extremely successful at the commencement, but was soon obliged to abandon his enterprize, which the irruption of the waters put a termination to. In 1758, the mine was purchased of the heirs of Retuerto, by Don Joseph de Maiz y Arcas, who had another opening made near the same spot. To effect this was the work of two years, and it answered so well, that the mine afforded annually from sixty to eighty thousand marks of silver. By the help of engines, the successive invasions of the water were overcome, until the decease of this very intelligent miner, when, through the neglect of his executors, the mine was, as well as those adjacent to it, completely filled with water.

The mines of *Santa Rosa* and *Caya*, were in the same state; and the miners were obliged to scrape together the little ore they could find at the orifices of the mines, but had the mortification to discover that it did not repay the trouble and expense of refining. Those who were interested

now associated together, and agreed to make an opening in the lower part of the mineral rock of Santa Rosa. The execution of this plan was confided to Don Felix de Ijurra, a very skilful miner, whose zeal, probity, and experience had already been evinced in several undertakings of a similar kind. Amidst the difficulties which nature opposed at every step, and what was worse, having to supply, from his own pocket, the deficiencies of many of the subscribers, he completed his undertaking, drained off the water which had found its way into the mines of Santa Rosa; and, in a manner, gave new life to the whole of the district. The wise provisions of Don Juan de Galvez, lieutenant-governor of these provinces, in 1792, have perfected this useful task, and rendered these mines permanently productive.

With a view to drain off the water, a new aperture has recently been made in the inferior part of the mine of Lauricocha. The expectations of the proprietors are already in a great measure realized. The ores of this very productive mine, are cinereous, and of a colour inclining to blue. They are considered amongst the richest of Peru.

The mountainous and mineral territory of Pasco, being taken in its whole extent, consists of the above-mentioned mines of Santa Rosa and Lauricocha, together with those of *Yanacancha*, *Cava*, *Cheupimarca* and *Pariajitca*. That of *Cheupimarca*, though replete with rich ores, has been but little worked, in consequence of the water

having gained on it at the commencement. The ores extracted from these mines are of a yellow colour, with reddish spots, and commonly yield from six to twelve marks per caxon. The ridge, which goes by the appellation of the Royal Mantle, from the riches it contains, is about five miles across, at its base. In the year 1789, from fifteen to sixteen thousand caxons of ore were extracted, and about one hundred and twenty thousand marks of silver refined in the royal foundry of Pasco.

The silver, however, from these mines, which are situated on the verge of the province of Los Charcas, of which Santa Rosa is the boundary, goes to be coined at Lima; but as they are so situated, and the historical description here given being equally applicable to a number of the mines of this country, as to the original richness, subsequent inundations and neglect, and in some parts also as to the restoration of them; the ample detail that has been entered into respecting them will not be found irrelevant.

At *Colquijilca*, a short distance from Pasco, mines of silver have recently been discovered; the ores of which, of the kind called *negrillos*, though blended with a small proportion of copper, are reported to be so rich as to yield from fifty to sixty marks of silver per caxon.

Much gold was formerly derived from the district of *Cochabamba*, and very lucrative veins are

still met with, one of which is worked to advantage. In some spots traces of silver-mines occur.

Chayanta, or *Chayanza*, is famous for its gold and silver-mines, the former are mostly discontinued, though many of the ancient subterraneous passages still remain open. In the sands of the river that water this district, called Rio Grande, a considerable quantity of gold in dust and in grains is found. The silver-mines are explored to great advantage. Copper, lead, and tin-mines are also worked here.

Caranges is rich in silver-mines, which are constantly worked, and without interruption from inundations. Amongst these, that of Turco is very remarkable for its ore, in which the fibres of the silver form an admirable intertexture with the stone in which they are contained. Mines of this kind are generally the richest. Besides this, there are others in this jurisdiction, which if not richer are equally remarkable, and which are found in the barren sandy deserts extending towards the coast of the South-sea. By digging in the sands, detached lumps of silver are found, unmixed with any ore or stone. They are called *papas* or yams, being taken out of the ground in the same manner as that root. It is difficult to account for the formation of these masses of silver in a barren and moveable sand, remote from any ore or mine. The most probable cause seems to be the fusion of the metal, by those subterraneous fires, which are in constant activity in this quarter of the

globe, feeding the numerous volcanoes of the Andes, and occasioning the frequent and dreadful earthquakes that ravage the coasts of Peru and Chili. The appearance of these lumps confirms this hypothesis, as the silver forms a mass in the middle encrusted with a scoria, such as would be seen in metals melted and suffered to cool without being separated from the dross. The sizes and figures of these papas vary considerably; some weigh about two marks, or sixteen ounces, and others much more. Ulloa saw two of them at Lima, one weighing sixty and the other one hundred and fifty marks; but these were the largest ever seen.

The jurisdiction of *Pacages* abounds also in silver-mines, though not many are worked. Undoubted signs occur of many mines having been explored here in the time of the Incas. The mountains of Santa Juana, Tampaya, and others, have formerly yielded immense treasures; but the principal mine is the famous one of Berenguela. Here are also mines of talc, called *jaspos blancos de Berenguela*, which is beautifully transparent, and is used in great part of Peru for the windows both of churches and houses. In these mountains are also several mines that yield gems: particularly one of emeralds,* the quality of

* Emeralds were abundant amongst the riches of the Incas, and many of an extraordinary size were found by the Spaniards; but a great number were destroyed, from the erroneous idea that then prevailed, that if they were real gems they would stand the

which has been much prized by the lapidaries of Europe ; but for some latent reasons this source of wealth has not lately been resorted to. Quarries of marble likewise abound here.

Laricaxas, or *Lavicaja*, abounds in gold-mines, whose metal is of so fine a quality that its standard is twenty-three carats and three grains. In this province is the celebrated mountain of *Sunchuli*, in which, about the end of the seventeenth century, a gold-mine was discovered, remarkably rich, and of the above-mentioned standard ; but when in its highest state of prosperity, it was unfortunately overflowed ; and although large sums were expended in endeavours to drain it ; all the labour and expense were unavailing, as the works were injudiciously conducted.

Though there are a good many veins of gold-ore about the Indian town of *Moxos*, or *Mojos*, few of them are worked. In the streams that run in the vicinity, particles of gold abound ; but most of it is lost, as the searchers collect only such as are of the size of a large pin's head.

Near the town of *Misque*, is the only place where any mine is worked in the province of

stroke of a hammer on an anvil. Notwithstanding the Peruvians were unacquainted with iron or steel, they were able to polish, pierce, and fashion their emeralds and other gems with all the delicacy of European workmen. In their ancient tombs emeralds are found worked in spherical, cylindrical, conical, and other figures, with mathematical accuracy.

Santa Cruz de la Sierra. This is of silver, and is not very abundant.

In *Atacama*, which, though situated on the western side of the Cordillera, and reaching to the Pacific Ocean, is considered as a dependency or part of the province of Los Charcas, there are various mines, which produce some gold and silver, which used to be principally taken away in the contraband trade of the French, who frequented the little and remote port of Cobija for that purpose.

The mountainous parts of the province of Tucuman, that border upon that of Los Charcas, possess both gold and silver-mines, and some of copper, which might be rendered very productive; but, like many others, scarcely repay the expense of working, from the ignorance of the miners and their overseers. The common invention of a windlass is even unknown, and the ore is carried up ladders in sacks upon the shoulders of the slaves.

In the province of Cuyo, near San Juan de la Frontera, there are rich silver-mines, but neglected. The copper brought from Mendoza is much esteemed; and in that neighbourhood a silver-mine was discovered about 1740, which yielded a large quantity of ore. It is still worked, but it is not known with what success. Beside the produce of these, the value of about four hundred thousand dollars is calculated to be brought by

contraband intercourse in gold and silver across the mountains from Chili, and, with the rest that is produced in Cuyo, finds its way to Buenos Ayres.

A gold-mine was found in the mountains of Maldonado, near the mouth of the Plata, but it was abandoned almost as soon as worked, from its insignificance. One, however, is said to be in activity in the district of Montevideo.

Having thus minutely reviewed the rivers, the mountains, the plains, and the mineral treasures that abound in the extensive regions subjected to the viceroy of Buenos Ayres, it is necessary to give some account of the varieties of climate and of soil that are found in them.

The summits of the Andes present the imposing spectacle of perpetual frost and never-melting snows, under the rays of a tropical and burning sun. Uninhabitable from the rigour of their atmosphere, inaccessible and uncultivable from their sterile, stony, and rugged nature, they influence also the lesser eminences, their embosomed vales, and their adjacent plains ; and each district enjoys its winter or summer, not in proportion to its geographical climate, but according to its relative situation with respect to this stupendous ridge.

Great part of the province of Los Charcas, and in particular that which is rich in mines, is equally barren in soil and inhospitable in climate. But many fruitful, genial, and temperate vallies inter-

vene; if such may be called vallies as lie far above the plains that extend beyond the mountains, and whose elevation exceeds that of the Alps and Pyrenees of Europe. Such is that of Tarija, which derives its name from Francisco Tarija, a man who, unlike the ferocious and mercenary conquerors who were his companions in arms under Pizarro and Almagro, penetrated with a few followers to a retired vale of the Cordillera; where, charmed by the mildness of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the docility of its happy natives, he settled; converted the Indians to christianity; established a patriarchal authority over them; and,

The world forgetting, by the world forgot,

he lived secluded, and died unknown; till the subsequent extension of the Spaniards in Peru carried them, in the progress of years, into the sequestered abode, where the name of Tarija was held in reverence by the Indians, and had been bestowed by them upon their own territory. The serenity of the sky, the salubrious temperature of the air, the fecundity of the soil, and the abundance of limpid streams, of Tarija, are extolled in terms of admiration. Wheat, maize, cocoa, grapes, flax, and the herb of Paraguay, are reckoned amongst its most common productions; and olives and sugar-canes are yielded in abundance in the vale of Bermejo. Yet, from the want of a sufficient incitement to industry, its

inhabitants are stated to be indolent and listless. Extensive natural and nutritive pastures afford food to large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep ; and this appears to be the principal resource on which the inhabitants rely, who annually sell about ten thousand head of cattle to the neighbouring districts.

Every variety of aspect, however, and every diversity of climate, from intense cold to excessive heat, occur in the interior or in the neighbourhood, of the mountains ; and the productions both of the temperate and torrid zones all find soils and situations adapted to their various natures.

Of the climate and soil of the plains of Gran Chaco and Tucuman, and of the fertile and pleasant borders of the Parana, the Uruguay, and their subsidiary streams, sufficient notice has already been taken ; and the provinces of Cuyo, and of Buenos Ayres proper, now only remain for consideration in this respect.

The same phenomenon which occurs in the peninsula of India, where the Ghauts and the table-land of Mysore separate the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, is, in some measure, observable in Cuyo and Chili, which are similarly separated by the Cordillera. When serene on one side, it is tempestuous on the other, and the seasons in both are opposite in their effects to each other. In Cuyo, the heats of summer are intense, and thunder-storms frequent and violent. In

winter, the weather is constantly serene, and the frosts are excessive hard; insomuch that the cattle die in the fields, if they are not housed; and for several months the roads over the mountains are so much blocked up by the snows as to be impassable. From its hot summers, and the fertility of the soil, which is much increased by the rivulets of melted snow that run down from the mountains, Cuyo produces corn, wine, and oil, in large quantities, and of excellent quality. The wine of Cuyo is much drank all over Spanish America, and preferred to every other wine of colonial growth.

The country immediately around Buenos Ayres, which will be that to which attention will be principally directed, deserves a more minute description, and will terminate this long, but it is hoped, not uninteresting, chapter.

Buenos Ayres is a name of propitious import, and is derived from its excellent and wholesome air. It is equally salubrious and pleasant, and enjoys nearly the same temperature throughout the year. In the winter-season, however, thunder and lightning is not uncommon, and the rains are sometimes of long continuance. The westerly winds, too, that have before been mentioned, known by the name of Pamperos, are inconvenient, and at times dangerous, from their fury. The soil around is in general a sandy loam; rich and productive, and requires neither manure, skill, or attention, to yield wheat and maize, ; most kinds of European fruit, grapes, melons, figs, apples,

pears, quinces, peaches, and cherries; with the productions of warmer climes, pimento, oranges, lemons, ananas, &c. This description applies equally to the neighbourhood of Montevideo.

Although the northern side of the river is more bold and elevated than the other, its shores are, in general, low, and in many places annually inundated, by which a fructifying sediment remains that greatly increases the vegetable produce. To the south-east, the coast is wet and low, with many marshes. The water-side is covered with wood that serves for fuel. The country around is flat, and few natural stones are found till near the hills that lie to the south. There are few Spanish settlements that extend beyond the straggling villages of the Matanza and Magdalen.

To the south of the town of Conception, which lies on the river Saladillo not far from its mouth, is the mount of Vivoras, or Vipers, where are two thick woods, with a space between them. Twelve miles more to the south are a number of eminences, each crowned with a little wood, and surrounded by a vale: they are called the woods of the Tordillo, or the Grey Horse. The rest is all plain, low country, with high watery grass, abounding in wild horses, deer, ostriches, and armadilloes. Some part of these woods reach within a league of the coast, which is low, boggy, and inaccessible, the bordering marsh extending nearly a mile in breadth.

About fifty miles to the E. S. E. of the woods of

the Tordillo is the promontory of Cape St. Anthony. It is a peninsula, the entrance into which on the western side is over a wide boggy brook or lake, which communicates with the sea. The soil of the peninsula is chiefly clay, and middling in depth. In winter it is watered by many brooks, but they are generally dry in the summer. The pastures are not so good, nor the grass so high, as those of the Tordillo. On the south side of the Cape an arm of the sea forms a bay, and terminates in lakes. Whether this bay affords anchorage or not is not known, as ships always steer wide of the Cape, for fear of the great sand-banks called Arenas Gordas.

Towards the coast there are three ridges of sand. That nearest the sea is high and loose. The next is half a mile distant, and not so high. The third is very low and narrow, and scarcely two feet in height. The land between these ridges is barren, and almost destitute of herbage of any kind. This peninsula abounds with wild horses, which occasions it to be frequently resorted to by the Indian hunters. It is called by the Spaniards the Rincon, or Corner, of Tuyu, the country adjoining being called Tuyu for more than forty leagues to the west. Tuyu in the Indian language signifies clay, that being the soil of all the country. These ridges of sand reach to within three leagues of Cape Lobos, and have to the westward low boggy marshes of two leagues or more in breadth, which extend all along the coast, till the higher ground

of the Tuyu occurs. The soil here grows considerably better, the grass being high and verdant, and continues so to the foot of the mountains. These, though they are not very high, may be distinguished very plainly in a clear day at the distance of twenty leagues, the country being so extremely level.

These mountains do not form a continued ridge, but have between them large and pleasant vales. They begin to rise at about six leagues from the sea-coast, and continue for about forty leagues to the west. They rise from the plain very abruptly, and are covered with grass. The high land is a variegated country, with deep brooks and small woods of a low thorny wood very fit for fuel. The paths to ascend the heights are few and very narrow. Between the mountains there are vallies of about two or three leagues broad, which are very fertile. They have a deep black soil without any clay, and are always covered with such fine grass, that the cattle which feed there grow fat in a very short time. There is no part of the province of Buenos Ayres so capable of improvement as this. The only inconvenience it is subject to, is the want of good timber for building houses; which, however, in the course of a few years, and with a little trouble, may be remedied; especially as there are sufficient materials for temporary houses with roofs covered with reeds.

That part of the mountains which tends to the east, and approaches the sea, is called by the Spaniards Vulcan, from a mistake or corruption of the Indian name Voolcan, which in the Moluche tongue signifies opening, there being a large opening to the south. Volcanoes there are none, though the Spanish word seems to imply that there are. The middle part is called Tandil, from a mountain of that name, which is higher than the rest. The last point of the ridge towards the west is called the Cayru.

To the east of the Vulcan, towards the sea, the country is unequal for about two leagues, after which it is flat. Here are some thick and almost impenetrable woods, in which are a great deal of the low thorny trees that grow on the mountains, and plenty of elder-trees. Near the sea-coast, about three miles distant from the beach, the ground rises and is very fertile, with rich pastures, where the cattle become extremely fat. Lower, towards the south, and as far as the mouth of the Rio Colorado, or first Desaguadero, the shore has perpendicular cliffs of a great height, with a sandy beach at their base, and sand-banks along the coast.

The country between the first mountains and the Casuhati is plain and open; but towards the sea-coast there is a large desert of moveable sand, which the Indians call Huecuvu Mapu, or the Devil's Country, which

is dangerous and almost impracticable to pass.

This completes a survey of the country south of Buenos Ayres, as far as the Casuhati; which is, as before observed, the beginning of a ridge of mountains branching off from the Chilian Cordillera.

CHAP. V.

Cities—Harbours and towns—Buenos Ayres—Bay of Barragon—Montevideo—Maldonado—Colonia or St. Sacrament—Santa Fé—Corrientes—Assumption—Missions—Cordova—San Jago del Estero—Salta—Tucuman—Jujui—Jurisdictions and cities of Los Charcas—La Plata—Potosi—Vales of Tarija—La Paz—Santa Cruz de la Sierra—Moxos—Mendoza—San Juan de la Frontera.

AS a description of the cities that have been erected, and the settlements which have been established, has appeared a more natural appendage to the topographical account of the country in the last chapter, it has been deemed right to deviate from the outline originally proposed, and to defer the discussions of the objects of natural history to a subsequent chapter.

Buenos Ayres, the capital both of the viceroyalty and of its particular province, first demands our notice. It was originally founded by Don Pedro de Mendoza, in 1535, under the name of *Nuestra Senora de Buenos Ayres*; but the permanent hostility of the surrounding Indians, and the consequent distress and famine, suffered by its inhabitants, was so great, that in 1539, the place

was abandoned, and those who had fixed there were all removed to Assumption. In 1580, however, it was rebuilt on the same spot, but was then called *Santa Trinidad de Buenos Ayres*. Its geographical situation has already been described. A little below the town the Rio Chuelo, a small river, from two to three fathoms in depth and about thirty yards wide, flows into the Plata; none but small craft can enter this creek, nor is it always practicable for such, as when the water is low in the great river it can not be entered. Ships may meet with good anchorage at some distance from the shore; but all goods must be landed by lighters, and boats in the creek. Buenos Ayres was erected into a bishopric, in 1620. Before its elevation into a viceroyalty, this city was only considered as the fourth in rank in South America; but it is now held as inferior to none but Lima. Since it thus became the seat of a new government, it has greatly increased in opulence and in population. It is regularly built, and its streets are broad, unpaved in the middle, and with footpaths on each side. The houses are reckoned to be six thousand in number. Most of the buildings, both public and private, had formerly only mud walls, but a lay-brother of the Jesuits who was employed to erect the church of his college about sixty years ago, made bricks and lime, and instructed the inhabitants in those useful arts, since which time the city has assumed a very different appearance. The architecture of

the cathedral, and of most of the churches, is likewise ascribed to the lay-brothers of that community. The cathedral is spacious and elegant. It has a cupola of excellent workmanship, and a portico, the design and execution of which are much extolled. The interior is profusely, perhaps tawdrily, decorated with carved and gilt-work. In the dome are paintings in compartments, representing the acts of the apostles. The churches of St. Francis, and that of the convent of Mercy, are next in estimation, and have cupolas and steeples nearly in the same style as the cathedral. In the church of the Franciscans, there is a picture of the Last Supper, painted by an Indian neophyte, of one of the Uruguay missions, which is considered as a very capital performance for a native artist: the frame of it is composed entirely of feathers of a bright gold colour, so artfully contrived as to appear to the nicest observer to be the most correct carving and gilding; nor can the difference be discovered till it is touched by the hand: this picture was a present to the Franciscans from the Jesuits, not many years before their expulsion. The church of St. John, which is on the skirts of the town, is appropriated to the Christian Indians. The town-hall, which stands on one side of the great square or parade, is a large and handsome building, likewise erected on a plan of the Jesuits. There are several convents and nunneries; and all these edifices are built of a beautifully white stone, which is found in a small

plain not far from the town. The whiteness of the public buildings is much improved by the frequency of the Pampero, which is considered as an excellent bleacher. The principal streets are the *Calle del Santa Trinidad*, and the *Calle del San Benito*. The former, which faces the great door of the cathedral, runs almost the whole length of the town, and is occupied by the better sort of inhabitants. Many of the opulent inhabitants have villas in the country, and almost every house has a garden, both before and behind; and many have balconies with lattice-work, for the reception of odoriferous shrubs and flowers. The interior of the houses is, in general, however, very dirty, from the indolence of the inhabitants. In summer, the rooms are covered with fine Indian matting, and in winter with European carpets. Every garden is refreshed by water let in from the river Plata, by a kind of sluice made of osiers, woven very strong and thick. The water thus admitted, is sent by smaller channels round the beds, and a quantity of it is generally retained in a large basin or reservoir, of which there is one in every extensive garden. The water when thus retained, is very clear and sparkling, but by its great coldness, it is apt, when drank, to bring on dysenteries and other dangerous diseases. Part of the town, which is principally inhabited by mestices and negroes, has a very miserable and filthy appearance, and strongly contrasts with the opulence and taste displayed in the other.

The inhabitants were usually estimated at about thirty thousand, but the calculation of Sir Home Popham carries them to the number seventy thousand. One fourth of the population are whites; the others are negroes, Indians, and people of mixed breed.

The castle or fort is very insignificant, in point of military importance; it contains a house for the military governor, and a royal chapel. At the time of the capture, there were about forty cannon of various calibres, mounted; and two thousand stand of arms were found in it. The usual garrison was seven hundred men, and about three thousand of the militia of the country were supposed to be always in readiness to co-operate with the regulars.

Buenos Ayres is well supplied with provisions, particularly with fish in great abundance, and variety from the river. There is no place in Europe or America, where butchers' meat is more plentiful, better in quality, or cheaper in price; it is frequently distributed gratis to the poor, as it is the usual custom to buy the hide alone, the carcase being in some measure a gratuitous addition; and the meat is always fat and very palatable. Poultry, considering the price of other provisions, is very dear; a couple of fowls generally sell for as much as a whole ox. The river-water is rather muddy, but soon becomes clear and drinkable by being kept in large earthen vessels made for the purpose, or in the garden-reservoirs, as before

mentioned. Wheat bread is sold at a rate, which makes it equal to about 7d. per English quartern loaf; and the price is fixed and permanent; the loaves are made to correspond in size with the different small coins of the country.

The *Bay of Barragon* is about twelve leagues to the south-east of Buenos Ayres, and is very open and exposed. Ships, after discharging their cargoes in lighters in the roadstead of Buenos Ayres, go to the bay of Barragon to wait for their outward cargoes. The land about it is all low; nor can ships of any burthen come within two or three leagues of the shore. The only shelter they have, if it may be so called, is formed by some banks under water, which break the force of the waves, but at the same time are very inconvenient both for going in and coming out; and there is but little security when a storm comes on, against a ship's parting from her ground-tackle, and being driven on them. The river that runs into the bay, can receive vessels drawing twelve feet water, but none larger. There is a small village here, but no assistance can be got from the shore for refitting of vessels.

Montevideo is the best, and indeed the only good port in this river. The Spaniards are sensible of the importance of this place, and have taken great pains to fortify it; having made it much stronger than Buenos Ayres. The entrance of the port is not very broad. The harbour derives its name from a high mountain on its western point which

may be seen at the distance of twelve, or even sixteen leagues. It is dangerous to sail too near to the western point, as there are many rocks under water. On the east side the entrance is deeper and safer. Beyond the western point there is a square battery built close to the water's edge. The bay is almost circular, and within it, on the east side, there is a small island abounding with rabbits. The surrounding land is very high, and protects the bay from all winds. The water is always as smooth as a mill-pond, and there is sufficient depth for ships of the first rate. The bottom is soft clay.

The town of Montevideo occupies the whole of a peninsular promontory, that forms the eastern point of the harbour. The fortifications are to the north ; they are regular works, built of stone, inclosing the whole of the peninsula, and have a pretty strong fort, with four bastions and mounted with brass cannon, in the centre ; the barracks are bomb-proof. The garrison is generally about four or five hundred men. The other side of the bay is without any fortification, nor has the high mountain even so much as a watch-tower. The town makes a handsome appearance from the harbour, as it is built upon an ascent, and the houses appear interspersed with gardens and trees. The houses are of stone and brick, only one story high, except a few. The roofs are flat, and the floors of brick, though some have only earth. The governor's residence, which has been compared to a

range of livery-stables in England, is of such construction. Few houses have glass windows. There are some, however, that belong to people of distinction, which are two and three stories high, and have balconies in front. None have any chimnies; fire is generally kindled in the yard, or a separate kitchen, and in wet or cold weather it is brought into the rooms in fire-pans. The streets run strait, and cross each other at right angles, but with one or two exceptions are very incommodious, being composed of large loose stones and sand. As the inhabitants, in general, ride on horseback, they pay little attention to the improvement of their roads. Strange as it may appear, it is related as a fact, that to fill up a hole in the road, one of a team has been killed, to make the passage of the wheels easier for the rest. Rats are very abundant in the town, and are a great nuisance. Near the top of the town is the market-place, about three hundred yards square, which is well supplied with fruit. On the west a large church, which has been several years in hand, is building in a tolerable style, but has nothing very remarkable.

It was in 1726, that the first settlements in the neighbourhood of Montevideo took place; but in a very inconsiderable degree. In 1731, Don Bruno de Zabala, then governor of Rio de la Plata, brought over fourteen or fifteen families from Palma, one of the Canary islands, and laid the foundation of the city.

Since that time it has greatly increased, and still continues to rise in importance, in proportion as the trade of the province becomes more extensive. Provisions are here very plentiful, and cheap. This abundance of the necessaries of life encourages, in the common people, a propensity to idleness, which has given rise to an order of strollers, who are called *Gauderois*. Their mode of life resembles that of the gypsies, except that they are not addicted to thieving. These vagabonds are natives of Montevideo, or the circumjacent places: they are very badly clothed, their whole dress consisting only of a coarse shirt, and a worse upper garment. These articles of dress, together with horse-furniture, serve them for bedding, and a saddle for a pillow. They stroll about with a kind of small guitars, to the sound of which they sing ballads of their own composition, or such as they have learned from others. Love is, in general, the subject of these songs. Thus they wander about the country, and endeavour to divert the peasants, who, in return, shew their gratitude by furnishing them with victuals during their stay with them, and even giving them other horses when they lose their own. This liberality and generosity will appear the less surprising, when the very little value is considered, that horses are of in this country. Great herds of them run about wild in the plains, and seem to belong to whoever will take the trouble of catching them. The *Gauderois* generally

march about in parties consisting of four, and sometimes even of more. With respect to the means of procuring food, they give themselves so little concern, that, when setting out on an excursion, they provide themselves only with a rope, a few balls, which are fastened to the ends of the ropes, and a knife. When attacked by hunger, they contrive to get one of the young cows or bulls, which run about wild, entangled in their snares. They throw the captured animal down, tie its legs together, and then cut, even before it is dead, the flesh, together with the skin, from the bone, make a few incisions in it, and thus prepared, put it to the fire: when half roasted, it is devoured without any addition or condiment, except a little salt, when they happen to carry any with them.~Some of them kill a cow merely for the purpose of obtaining the flesh between the ribs and the skin.---Others eat nothing except the tongue, which they roast in the red hot embers. The remainder of the carcase is all left in the field, and becomes the prey of carnivorous birds and wild beasts. Others again are still more easily satisfied, taking nothing but the marrow-bone, from which they cut off all the flesh, and then hold it over the fire till the marrow becomes soft and fluid. Sometimes they practise the following singular mode of cookery: having killed a cow, they take out the entrails, and, collecting all the tallow and lumps of fat, put them into the hollow carcase. They then kindle some

dried cow-dung, and apply it to the tallow, that it may take fire, and penetrate into the flesh and bones. For this purpose, they close up the carcase as well as possible, so that the smoke comes out of the mouth, and another aperture made in the lower part of the belly. In this manner the cow often continues roasting a whole night, or a considerable part of the day. When it is done enough, the company place themselves around, and each cuts for himself the piece he likes best, and devours it without bread or salt. What remains is left in the field, except any of them happens to carry a portion of this favourite food to some particular friend.

There are two ways of travelling from Montevideo to Buenos Ayres; one of them by land as far as El Real de San Carlos. In the dry season of the year this is the shortest; but, in the rainy season, the smallest rivulets swell to such a height, that no one can cross them without danger, sometimes not at all. At San Carlos, boats are always in readiness to transport passengers across the Rio de la Plata, which is here ten leagues broad, and to carry back the orders of the governor, and all kinds of provisions, to San Carlos. The most usual manner of travelling from Montevideo to Buenos Ayres, is by water. If the weather be favourable, a boat may perform this passage in twenty-four hours, though the distance be forty leagues: but, when the wind is

contrary, it may happen, that fourteen days will scarcely be sufficient.

Maldonado is an open harbour, near the north entrance of the Plata. It is sheltered from the south-east winds by a small island, which bears the same name. The Spaniards have a fort here, garrisoned by a detachment from Montevideo. Great hopes were at first entertained, that its port would have answered for large vessels, but it has been found to be very unsafe. The mouth of the river *St. Lucia*, higher up the river, is stated to be capable of being rendered a capacious and secure harbour, and that the removal of a sand-bank at its entrance, which at present obstructs the channel, could, in the opinion of experienced men, be removed with little labour or expense.

Colonia, or, as it is more generally called, *St. Sacrament*, which is situated opposite to Buenos Ayres, has a tolerable port, receiving some shelter from the islands of *St. Gabriel*. Yet, it is otherwise open and exposed, and has some rocks and shoals that render it necessary to have a good pilot to steer into it with safety.

It was founded by the Portuguese, in the year 1679, under Don Manuel de Lobo, and has occasioned many struggles between the rival nations of Spain and Portugal. It was successively wrested from its founders, restored by Charles V. to the Portuguese, resumed in 1750 by Spain, and finally, in 1778, ceded to the Spaniards, who have ever since remained in possession. Whilst

in the hands of Portugal, it flourished much by the prosecution of a contraband trade with Buenos Ayres, but is now of very little comparative importance. The fortress on the island of St. Gabriel, which protects the harbour, is reckoned a strong one.

Santa Fé is about two hundred and forty miles north-west of Buenos Ayres, and the next establishment in the province, in point of rank, to the capital. It stands at the confluence of the rivers Salado and Paraguay, in $31^{\circ} 40'$ S. latitude, and $39^{\circ} 40'$ W. longitude. It is of a middling size, and is built of brick. It languished much from the frequent incursions of the wild Indians, but has, for the last sixty years, been free from them. It is subject to occasional great inconvenience from the inundations of the rivers. It was founded in 1573, by Juan de Garey, a private Biscayan adventurer.

Corrientes is about two hundred and forty miles higher up and at the confluence of the Parana and the Paraguay. It is small and inconsiderable, and in no wise answering the dignity of its situation, at the junction of these two magnificent streams. *Santa Lucia* and *Chanas*, the former situated at the point where the river Corrientes joins the Paraguay, are towns of still less importance.

The ruins of the first fort that was built on the Rio de la Plata, lie at the Rincon, or corner of *Gaboto*, so called from Sebastian Cabot, who built

it in 1526, at the mouth of the Rio Tercero, here called by its original appellation of Zarcaranna. He named it the *Fort of the Holy Ghost*, but Gabot's fort was its usual name, till its abandonment in 1554.

Of the province of Paraguay, the chief place is *Assumption*. It stands on the river Paraguay, a little above the junction of the Pilcomayo. A fort was built here in 1538, by Don Gonzales de Mendoza and Don Juan de Salazar, which from the conveniency of its situation grew into a city, and became the metropolis of Paraguay. It was erected into a bishopric in 1547, under the title of *Oppidum seu Pagus de Rio de la Plata*. It is inhabited by about five hundred families of Spaniards, and several thousands of Indians and mestices. The adjacent territory is very rich and fertile, producing a great abundance and variety of fruits, both those which are natural to the country, and such as have been transplanted from Spain. The air is temperate, and the climate genial; the trees are clothed in perennial verdure, and the rich pastures in the neighbourhood feed numerous herds of cattle. The Spanish inhabitants pride themselves upon their descent from some of the best families of Spain. Contiguous to the town there is a single mountain of extraordinary height. *Yaguaron* is a large town, inhabited solely by Indians, about twenty miles below Assumption.

Guayra, Ciudad Real, and Villa Rica, were

establishments in Paraguay, which flourished and decayed in succession. The two latter were principally devastated by the Portuguese from Brazil, nor have they, though hostilities have long ago ceased on these frontiers, since risen to any degree of consequence. The trade in the herb of Paraguay, was a source of considerable benefit to Villa Rica, but this has now been chiefly transferred to *Cunuguati*, a town built about the beginning of the last century at the foot of the mountains of Maracayu, where the greatest quantities of the herb are grown.

The missions established by the Jesuits, and formerly called reductions, are scattered all over the country of Paraguay, and the banks of the Parana, and the Uruguay. There are about thirty-two regular towns established, which have, since the expulsion of the Jesuits, been converted into presidencies, and are under the same mode of government as the rest of the Spanish colonies; although the Franciscan and Dominican fathers who are regularly sent thither from Buenos Ayres, have a considerable degree of influence, and have, in some measure, prevented the abandonment of them by the civilized Indians, which was at first found rapidly to follow the departure of their former patriarchal governors. An account of their original establishment and progress will come under the historical department. Their actual situation is not well known, but is generally understood to be greatly declined from

the prosperity and tranquillity in which the Jesuits left them. From thirty to forty thousand families of converted Indians are reckoned to be the number of the inhabitants. The towns are pretty large, the streets strait, and the houses uniform. In the centre of each is a square, on one side of which a church is built, and on the other an arsenal. The houses are, in general, very mean and simple, built with mud walls and timber, but convenient and pleasant. Some are built of stone, and tiled. The churches are large and well built, and are rich in the pageantry of the Catholic religion. They carry on a considerable trade in the herb of Paraguay, in wax and honey, and other articles which the fertile territory around them furnishes in abundance.

Puerto de la Candelaria on the Paraguay, in latitude $20^{\circ} 40'$ S. is the northernmost regular establishment of the Spaniards; but has nothing otherwise remarkable; it was founded in 1537, by Don Juan de Ayolas. *Xeres de la Frontera*, so called from its lying on the eastern verge of the Spanish dominions, was once a flourishing place, and had a college of missionaries; it was situated inland between the Paraguay and the Parana; but it has long since gone to decay, and the scite of its ruins is not even exactly known. On the west bank of the Paraguay, there are the small towns of *Conception* and *Sant Ignatio*, but they are either decayed and abandoned, or are of no kind of importance.

Of the province of Tucuman, *San Jago del Estero* was formerly considered as the capital, but that title may now be more properly bestowed on *Cordova*. This city is situated in $31^{\circ} 30'$ S. latitude, and $63^{\circ} 30'$ W. longitude, in a marshy but rich and fertile soil, on a small river called Rio Primero, which is lost in the sands, or salt-lakes, to the south-east. It is the seat of a bishopric, established in 1570, and has several ecclesiastical establishments, as well as an university and a seminary for young noblemen. The climate is temperate and healthy. The adjacent territory is full of cattle, and abounding in excellent pasture. It produces plenty of corn, fruits, and other necessaries, and has several productive salt-pits. The town carries on a considerable trade in these commodities with Peru, on the road to which from Buenos Ayres, it lies, taking gold and silver in return. The Spanish inhabitants amount to about fifteen hundred, with about four thousand negroes. They are chiefly employed in tilling the ground, and manufacturing cloth, both of cotton and wool, which they send to Peru. Mules also form a considerable branch of the inland traffic of *Cordova*; the Tucuman mules being famous all over these regions for strength and docility. *Cordova* was founded in 1573, by Don Jerom de Cabrera. The cathedral is reckoned a handsome edifice, and the market-place is spacious, and adorned with buildings of considerable magnitude. The streets are cleaner than those of

Buenos Ayres, being paved. The college, formerly belonging to the Jesuits, is a large and massy building, now appropriated to public purposes.

San Jago del Estero, formerly the capital of Tucuman, and an episcopal see, lies on the banks of the Rio Dolce, which is also called here the river of San Jago, and is pretty large and navigable, affording plenty and variety of fish. The provincial government is now removed from it, and the bishopric is transferred to San Miguel de Tucuman. The town is not very considerable, and contains only three hundred houses, inhabited by about five hundred families, chiefly mestices and mulattoes. They are described as lazy and sickly, owing to the heat of the climate, and more addicted to pleasure than to industry. The town stands on a flat, surrounded by forests, which stagnate the air. The women here are reckoned particularly handsome, but they are frequently deformed by wens, or swellings of the throat. The neighbouring country is rich, producing plenty of wheat, rice, and barley; also fruits of all kinds, particularly figs and grapes. The forests afford plenty of game, but are also infested with beasts of prey. There are three churches besides the cathedral. San Jago has much fallen to decay from the removal of the seat of the provincial government, and the diversion into other channels of its former trade. There are very few open spots in the district of San Jago. Behind the woods to the westward, towards

the mountains of Rioja, there are vast plains, where there is plenty of pasture, but without any fresh water, except what is collected in rainy seasons. Cotton thrives in the neighbourhood very well, and indigo was formerly a great commodity; but, through the neglect of the inhabitants, is entirely lost. A small quantity of cochineal is collected occasionally, and much more might be produced, if the opuntia, which nourishes the cochineal-insect, was properly cultivated; but it only grows wild in the woods. Wax and honey are likewise found in the woods, and, besides corn, form the only articles of trade at present from San Jago. There is a kind of honey called *alpamisqua*, made by a very small bee, which is found in holes under ground; its taste is an acidulated sweet; it is very diuretic, and esteemed good for the stone and gravel. Saltpetre might be made a considerable article of traffic, as it abounds in the vicinity of San Jago, and through the country as far as Rioja. This town was founded in 1562, by Don Francisco d'Aguirre, and was named from a lake or pool formed by the Rio Dolce at the place where it is built.

But *San Miguel de Tucuman* was the earliest establishment the Spaniards had in this province, going back as far as 1549. It is a pleasant little town, surrounded by groves of citron, orange, fig, and pomegranate trees, situated on a small river called *Quebrada de Calchaqué*, which falls into the Dolce. It is a bishop's see, and contains

three monasteries. The inhabitants are wealthy, and work some mines in the ridge of the Cordillera, from which the town is not far distant. The air here is reckoned the most salubrious of the province.

Salta, or *San Philippe de Lerma*, was founded in 1582, by Don Hernando de Lerma. It lies in latitude $24^{\circ} 15' S.$ and is pleasantly situated in a valley surrounded by mountains, from which a number of brooks descend, and join the small river Arias, on the banks of which Salta is built. It is regularly divided by four principal streets, which are wide, but unpaved. The market-place is a regular and large square, on one side of which stands a beautiful town-house, and opposite to it the principal church. There are seven churches and ecclesiastical establishments. It is the residence of the governor-intendant and of the administration of the province of Tucuman. There are about six hundred Spanish families here, and the whole population, including mestices and slaves, is estimated to amount to nine thousand souls. The inhabitants, who carry on a considerable transit-trade with Potosi, Peru, and Chili, are richer and more polished than those of Cordova and Tucuman.

San Salvador de Jujui, or *Xuxui*, was founded a little before Salta, and after being twice destroyed by the Indians of Chaco, was rebuilt for the third time in 1593. It is a small town, containing about three hundred houses and three

thousand inhabitants, who carry on some trade with Potosi; they might derive great benefit from the rich ores in the neighbourhood, but they have neither sufficient enterprise or skill to make a proper use of the advantages they possess in this respect. It stands at the foot of one of the high mountains of the Cordillera, and upon a river which falls into the Vermejo. It is the most northerly place of the province, being within one degree of the tropic.

A town and fortress was founded in 1558, by Don Juan Gomez de Zurita, in latitude $29^{\circ} 12' S.$ on the road from San Jago to Chili, to which he gave the name of *New London*, in compliment to Mary queen of England, the consort of Philip II.; but it is now abandoned, and no vestiges of it are left, as is the case with *Esteco*, a town which had been established in 1567. *Rioja* is a small town amongst the mountains, the neighbourhood of which produces excellent wine. None others worthy of being particularized occur in Tucuman.

Of the extensive and wealthy province of Los Charcas, the city of *La Plata* is the capital. It was founded in 1538, by Pedro Anzures, one of Pizarro's captains, on the scite of the Indian town of Chuquisaca, and this latter name has prevailed over that which was given to the place by the Spaniards, in allusion to the rich silver-mines of Porco in its neighbourhood. The city stands in a small plain, environed by eminences, which

defend it from the winds. The temperature of the air in summer is very mild, nor is there any considerable difference throughout the year; but in the winter, which begins in September and continues till March, thunder-storms are not unfrequent, and the rains are of long continuance. In the other parts of the year the atmosphere is bright and serene. The houses in the great square, and those adjoining to it, are of two stories, but in the remainder of the town only of one. They are covered with tiles, very roomy and convenient, with pleasant gardens planted with European fruits. Water is scarce, though there are public fountains dispersed in different parts of the city. The inhabitants, Spaniards and Indians, are reckoned to amount to fourteen thousand. It is the see of an archbishop, whose ecclesiastical jurisdiction extends over the whole Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, excepting the province of Cuyo, which belongs to the diocese of Santiago de Chili. The cathedral is large, and of good architecture, much ornamented with painting and gilding. There is another church and five convents, all spacious buildings with splendid churches; likewise two nunneries and a conventual hospital, the expenses of which are defrayed by the king. La Plata has an university dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, the chairs of which are filled indifferently, either by secular clergy or laymen. Two leagues from the city runs the river Cachimay, along the banks of which are a num-

ber of pleasant villas, belonging to the inhabitants. About six leagues on the road to Potosi is the river Pilcomayo, which is passed by a large stone bridge. During some months of the year this river furnishes La Plata with a great abundance of fish, especially dorados, which generally weigh between twenty and twenty-five pounds. Other provisions, bread, flesh, and fruit, are supplied by the adjacent districts. La Plata became a bishopric in 1551, was made the seat of the royal audience of Los Charcas in 1559, and in 1608 received archiepiscopal honours. The nobility of this place reckon themselves amongst the most distinguished of Peru, and pride themselves upon their ancestry.

The city of *Potosi*, which owes its origin to the famous silver-mines, which have been so amply described, was speedily formed in their vicinity, and is stated to contain seventy thousand inhabitants, of whom about ten thousand are Spaniards, but when all the slaves and others employed in the adjacent mines are reckoned, they may be estimated at one hundred thousand. It lies in latitude $20^{\circ} 26'$ S. and longitude $66^{\circ} 16'$ W. about sixty miles distant from La Plata. The circuit of the town is nearly two leagues, and it contains many noble families, and extraordinary riches. The air of the mountain being extremely cold and dry, the adjacent country is rendered remarkably barren, producing neither grain nor fruit, nor any esculent. The town, however, enjoys an abund-

ance of every kind of provisions and necessaries, which are brought from great distances, and the trade in which is great and beneficial. Grain is sent from some provinces, various manufactures from others, and cattle from almost all. Those who trade in European goods resort to Potosi, as to a market where there is a great consumption, excellent prices, and plenty of silver to give in exchange. The fuel, which is principally charcoal, is brought from a great distance, and the scarcity and value of timber for building, has already been instanced. The churches of Potosi are remarkably magnificent, and profusely decorated with utensils and ornaments of gold and silver. The houses are, in general, well built, and the inhabitants possess great wealth, and are sumptuous to excess in their dress and furniture. But the militia of the place, about five hundred in number, are described as making a wretched appearance, without uniforms, without field-pieces, and one half of them parading with wooden musquets. Twelve miles south of Potosi are the hot medicinal springs called Don Diego. They are sulphureous, and impregnated with hepatic gas. As in other countries, some resort thither in search of health, and others of amusement.

Potosi and its district is included in the jurisdiction of La Plata. That of *Tomina* begins about fifty-four miles south-east of the city La Plata, and borders eastward on the Indian nation of the Chiriguanos. The climate is hot, and the pro-

duce of the soil is, consequently, that usually found in hot countries. Some parts have vineyards, and in others, considerable quantities of sugar are made. It abounds also in cattle and sheep. Its extent, in some places, is about one hundred and forty miles. The vicinity of the unsubdued Chiriguanos is a perpetual source of uneasiness to the towns in this jurisdiction, and they have even at times menaced the city of La Plata.

The jurisdiction of *Porco*, the capital of which, is *Talvezara de Puna*, but sometimes called *Porco*, is one hundred and eighty miles long and one hundred and twenty broad. The coldness of its situation occasions a scarcity of grain and fruits, but the inhabitants rear great numbers of cattle, sheep, and guanacos. There are hot springs. Its mines have already been noticed.

One hundred and eighty miles south of La Plata, is the jurisdiction of *Chicas y Tarija*; that part which bears properly the name of Tarija, has been considered as the Eden of these regions. The town of *San Barnard de Tarija* has but few Spanish inhabitants, and the corregidor usually resides in the district of Chicas. The original settlement of the Spaniards in these vallies, was as early as the time of Pizarro, under the conduct of Francisco de Tarija, and has been already noticed. When the Spaniards, many years afterwards penetrated again into this district, they found the memory of Tarija, however, alone remained; for at his death the Indians had reverted to their original

state. An incursion of the Chiriguano's subsequently carried desolation into the vales of Tarija, in which they took up their abode for some time ; but in 1574, they were expelled by the Spaniards from Peru under Luis de Fuentes, who founded and peopled the chief town as well as other settlements. In that of San Bernardo, there are four convents, but in three of them there is no other monk but the prior.

The Spanish population of Tarija was not, at the commencement, of the best description, on account of a privilege granted to all those who should settle there, that they should not be prosecuted for any debts. That it gradually improved, both in numbers and condition, was equally owing to the resources of the country itself, and to the misfortunes that befel those in its vicinity. A plague of devouring insects, of the locust-kind, overspread the district of Pilaya, and many of its inhabitants took up their abode in Tarija. The same thing happened when the celebrated mines of Lipes were inundated, more particularly the one called the Table of Silver. The miners, abandoning the mountainous territory, came down to the vallies, where they sought in agriculture, a poorer, but more natural, and less precarious, subsistence.

Of these united districts, Chicas, though the least fertile and pleasant, has acquired more distinction from its possessing a few gold mines ; it is watered by the Toropalca and the Tarija, which respectively join the Pilcomayo and the Vermejo.

Tapiza is the chief town of Chicas, and has a good many Spanish inhabitants, who are supported by the gold and silver-mines around, and likewise act as carriers. *Santiago de Cotagaita* is about one hundred miles distant from Potosi, whither its inhabitants convey the charcoal they burn. This branch of traffic is very profitable to them. The position of the town, which lies between a river and a swampy tract on the route of Buenos Ayres, is incommodious; but its climate is pleasant. Its population is very numerous, and consists chiefly of mestices, with a few Spaniards and Indians. At the town of *Vitoche*, leather, in imitation of the Spanish, is manufactured with great success, and in a quantity that suffices for the supply of all the surrounding districts. This branch of industry affords the inhabitants a regular commerce and a decent support. There are many flocks of goats, which are reared with infinite care, on account of their skins being the best adapted to the above manufacture.

The territory of Chicas is little cultivated, and though it produces a small proportion of maize, wheat, and barley, it does not suffice for the inhabitants. From fifty to sixty thousand marks of silver, and about an hundred thousand piastres in gold, are, on an average estimate, annually extracted from the mines in this dependency. This amount the inhabitants exchange for corn, cattle, wood, and other necessaries, drawn from Tarija,

which is separated from the rest of the department by rugged mountains.

The descent into the delightful vales of Tarija, is by several steep and precipitous hills. The serenity of the sky, the genial temperature of the air, the beauty and fertility of the soil, and the plentiful supply of water, are extolled as surpassing those of any other part of America. Wheat, maize, cocoa, grapes, flax, the herb of Paraguay, &c. are produced almost spontaneously; and if the abundance of the produce be not proportioned to the fecundity of the soil, it is either on account of the indolence of the inhabitants, or of the poverty of the adjacent departments, which can not make any considerable demands for their productions. San Bernardo is situated in a delightful plain well supplied with water, which is very fertile, but is exclusively appropriated to the culture of maize and the rearing of swine. San Lorenzo, at the foot of the mountains, enjoys a similar temperature and fertility. The valley of Bermejo is indifferently peopled, and there is room for new settlers. Its temperature is warm and moist; and it is adapted to the rearing of cattle, as well as to the culture of olives, canes, and a variety of plants and productions, which are not to be found in the other parts of the dependency of Tarija.

Throughout the whole department the soil yields, without the aid of man, abundant pastures, and large herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep are reared in them. The annual exporta-

tion of black cattle alone, is computed to amount to ten thousand head, which are valued at from eight to ten piastres each. The demands for European and other merchandize in Tarija annually exceed sixty thousand piastres.

Amidst these advantages, the inhabitants of the valley of Tarija are very poor, on account of their propensity to idleness. Relying on the comparative facility with which their subsistence is procured, they spend their days beneath the shade of their huts, in imitation of the inhabitants of Tucuman; and the ridiculous notions relative to the distinguished nobility of their progenitors, which have taken a strong hold on them contribute greatly to maintain them in this state of inaction.

The rivers, by which it is intersected, contribute greatly to the fertility of this valley. They are all received by the Pilcomayo and the Vermejo. The principal are the San Juan and the Guadalquivir.

The jurisdiction of *Lipes* has a chief town of the same name. It is one hundred and eighty miles long, and sixty broad. The air is very cold, so that grain and fruit thrive very ill; but it abounds in cattle, particularly those natural to the country, vicunnas, pacos, and lamas. These animals, are, however, common to all those tracts, the elevation of which renders the air continually cold. In the plains are found salt, saltpetre, and sulphur.

The jurisdiction of *Amparaes*, or *Jamparaes*, begins a little to the eastward of the city of La

Plata, and extends to the limits of the district of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. It produces fruits, yams, barley, wheat, maize, &c. which are sent to the cities of La Plata and Potosi. It has a considerable salt-mine, and some parts of it furnish wines and sugar.

The capital of Oruro, ninety miles north-west from La Plata, is called *San Phelipe de Austria de Oruro*. It was formerly the residence of wealthy capitalists, but is now much decayed, and nearly abandoned, from the causes mentioned when speaking of its mines. The greatest part of this jurisdiction is so cold, as not to be fit for the production of any esculent vegetables; but there are great numbers of cattle, as well as of vicunnas, guanacos, and lamas.

In the jurisdiction of *Pilaya* and *Pispaya*, there are two towns of the same name, but they are much decayed; and the chief place is *Centi*, situated in a valley of that name. It abounds in grain, pulse, fruit; and the great quantity of wine made here, enable it to carry on a lucrative commerce with the other provinces. Very good brandy is also made here.

Oropesa is the capital of the district of *Cochabamba*, and is situated in latitude 19° S. and longitude 66° 10' W. It was built by Don Francisco de Toledo. It is not very populous, but the inhabitants have a profitable trade with Potosi, whither they carry their sheep, corn, and vegetables. The district of *Cochabamba* is one hun-

dred and twenty miles long, and about one hundred broad. From the quantity of corn it produces, it has been called the granary of Peru. The fruits of the valley of Arqua are much celebrated. The air is in most parts very mild and pure.

Paria takes its name from the lake along the borders of which this district extends. The air is very cold, and it produces very little grain; but cattle of all kinds are plentiful. The cheese made here, both from sheep and cow's milk, is very much esteemed. It contains salt-mines, saline lakes, and hot springs.

Caranges has for its capital *Tarapaca*, contiguous to the lake *das Aullagas*. It is about one hundred miles in length, and about ninety in breadth. The climate is cold, and the soil yields few esculent vegetables, but it abounds in cattle, swine, and lamas.

Sicasica has a town of the same name. The countries of this jurisdiction extend in some parts above three hundred miles, and the temperature is consequently various. Some spots are very hot, and produce an exuberance of coca, a shrub which will be described hereafter, and which is the source of a considerable commerce, supplying all the mine-towns of Los Charcas. The leaves of this plant are packed in frails, each of which must, according to a royal ordinance, contain eight pounds, and the current price of such a frail at Potosi, and the other mine-towns, is from

nine to ten piastres. The colder parts feed large herds of cattle, together with vicunnas, guanacos, and other wild creatures.

Atacama, great part of which is a desert and depopulated country, is the westernmost jurisdiction of Los Charcas, and of the whole viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, extending across the Cordillera to the South Sea. It belongs geographically either to Peru or to Chili, between which it is interposed, and partakes of the nature of their soil and climate. Its chief town is Atacama, in $23^{\circ} 30'$ S. latitude, and $69^{\circ} 30'$ W. longitude. It is about one hundred miles from the coast, but has a communication with the sea by the little port of *Cobija*, where is a village of about forty or fifty houses of Indians, who are supplied from Atacama with wheat and yams, in exchange for fish. The port is only a little creek running about a mile inland, where there is a little shelter from the south and south-west winds, which are the most usual on the coast. It is destitute of necessities; but, being remote from any custom-house, used to be frequented by the French interlopers.

The eastern parts of Los Charcas comprise the districts of *La Paz*, *Santa Cruz de la Sierra*, and *Moxos*.

La Paz has six subordinate jurisdictions. The first contains the city and territory of *La Paz*, or the City of Peace, so called in memory of the public tranquillity which reigned in Peru at the

time of its foundation, subsequent to the defeat and execution of Gonzalo Pizarro and his adherents. It was founded, in 1548, by Pedro de la Gasca, in a fruitful valley at the foot of one of the high ridges of the Cordillera. Along the valley flows a pretty large river, called the Cajana or Choqueasso. From the vicinity of the Cordillera, great part of the country is exposed to a bleak and cold air, and hard frosts, snow, and hail, are not uncommon; but the city itself is secured from them by its happy situation. Other parts are also so well sheltered, that they produce all the vegetables of a hot climate. In the mountainous parts there are large woods of valuable timber, but they are infested with wild beasts: they have also a few deer, and on the heaths are found guanacos, vicuñas, and lamas, and great numbers of cattle of the European species.

The city is of a middling size, has been the see of a bishop since the year 1608, and, besides the cathedral, has four churches, five convents, and three nunneries. Here is also a college dedicated to St. Jerom, for the education of youth, whether designed for ecclesiastical or civil employments.

To the north-west, and almost at the gates of La Paz, the jurisdiction of *Omasuyos* begins, and extends about sixty miles, being bounded on the west by the famous lake of Titiaca. The air is somewhat cold, so that it produces little grain, but that deficiency is abundantly compensated by the

great numbers of cattle. An advantageous trade in fish is likewise carried on to the other provinces by the Indians, who live on the borders of the lake, and who are very industrious in improving that advantage.

South-west of La Paz is the jurisdiction of *Pacages*, the greatest part of which, being in a cold climate, produces little grain or fruits, so that the inhabitants apply themselves to the breeding of cattle. Its various mines have before passed in review. The chief town is *Berenguela*.

The jurisdiction of *Lavicaja*, or *Lariçaxas*, extends three hundred and fifty miles from east to west, and nearly one hundred from north to south. The temperature of the air is different in different parts.

That of *Chucuito* begins about sixty miles west of La Paz, and some part of it bordering upon the lake of Titiaca, that collection of waters is also, sometimes, called the Lake of Chucuito. The chief town of the same name lies upon the borders of the lake. The extent of this district from north to south is about fifty miles. Its temperature is in general cold and very disagreeable, the frosts continuing one half of the year, and snow and hail being very common at all times. Though therefore there are very few esculent vegetable productions, cattle abound, and the inhabitants carry on a very beneficial trade in salted and dried beef.

The last subordinate jurisdiction to La Paz is that of *Paucar Colla*, sometimes called by the name

of its chief town *Puno*. This place suffered much in the insurrection of the year 1779, and lost most of its wealthy inhabitants. This district borders southward on that of Chucuito, and partakes of the same temperature. It abounds in cattle and sheep, both of the European and American kinds. The Indians of the town weave their wool into cloth, which is sold to great advantage.

Santa Cruz de la Sierra, or *Holy Cross of the Mountains*, is a government immediately dependant on the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres. Its jurisdiction is of large extent, and comprehends the whole of the countries of the Chiquitos, the Moxos, and the Chiriguanos Indians, though many tribes of them, especially of the latter, do not acknowledge the Spanish dominion. The capital of the same name was first founded by Nuflo de Chaves, in 1558, one hundred and fifty miles more to the south than the city is now situated; and sixty thousand Indians, mostly of the nation of the Moxos, were converted and reduced by him at that period without bloodshed. But Don Francisco de Toledo removed the town to the place where it now stands, in $14^{\circ} 20'$ S. latitude, at the foot of a chain of mountains, which bounds the country of the Chiquitos Indians to the north, and thence runs in a north-east direction to lake Xarayes. It was at first called *San Lorenzo*, and it still retains that name in some public instruments. The reason of the removal has not been ascertained, nor did it please many of the

Spanish inhabitants of the old town, some of whom remained amongst the Chiquitos, and formed a little town at the foot of a mountain, which they called *St. Francis*; others retired amongst the Moxos, and some having embarked on the Mamore, fell down that river to the Maragnon, and thence passed into Spain. The city stands on the banks of the Guapay, which forms a semicircle round it. It is pretty large and populous, but ill built. It was erected into a bishopric in 1605, but the bishop resides at the town of Misque. The houses are of stone, and are thatched with palm-leaves.

The subordinate jurisdictions are, first: *Santa Cruz*, which is much intersected by hills; the climate is excellent, but the temperature of the air is hot. It produces rice, maize, cotton, sugar-canes, &c. and the bees afford quantities of wax and honey.

Misque, the capital of which is called *Misque Pocona*. This town is very thinly inhabited, but there are several populous towns in other parts of this district. The temperature is hot, but not so much as to be inimical to the vine, which is cultivated here, and produces a wine which is held in some esteem. The valley in which the chief town stands, is about twenty-five miles in circumference, and produces all kinds of grain and fruit, as well as sugar-canes. The woods and mountains afford great quantities of honey and

wax, which constitute a principal branch of its commerce.

The nominal limits of the province of *Moxos* or *Mojos*, are very extensive, and are reckoned to reach to the confines of Brazil, including an area of four hundred and fifty miles from north to south, and six hundred from east to west. There are a few Spanish settlements and missions scattered over this extensive country, and the Indian inhabitants are generally reckoned amongst the *Indios fideles*, or converted Indians, subject to Spain; but the sovereignty of Spain over them, is both precarious and of little value; whilst the country itself is not much explored or well known to Europeans. The air is hot and moist, on account of the many rivers and the large forests this province contains. The soil is fertile, and abounds in most of the tropical productions. Its cocoa is particularly celebrated, and the chocolate made from it is esteemed to be of a finer flavour and more nourishing quality than any other.

There are some missions which were established by the Jesuits amongst the Chiquitos Indians*, whose country extends to the east of Santa Cruz

* *Indios Chiquitos*, or Little Indians, is a name given by the Spaniards to the inhabitants of this part of the country, not on account of their stature being diminutive, which is not the case, for they are rather tall, well made, active, and resolute; but on account of the doors of their houses or huts being made so remarkably small, as if they were meant for the access of dwarfs alone.

de la Sierra, towards the sources of the Paraguay. In the year 1732, there were seven towns established, containing about six hundred families each; and they were supposed to be rapidly advancing in prosperity. Their present condition is not known, though it may be conjectured that the expulsion of the Jesuits will have occasioned here, as well as in other places, the decay of their establishments. Helms, in his table of the mines found in the different districts of the Viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, which has been given in page 144, enumerates the districts of Lampa, Avangaro, and Carabaya, as appertaining to that jurisdiction. These districts are generally considered as belonging to the Viceroyalty of Lima, and as subordinate to the diocese of Cusco. Yet it is not improbable that a recent change may have annexed them to the government of Buenos Ayres, and a cursory view of them, in this place, will, in that case, leave no part of its extensive jurisdiction undescribed.

The district of *Lampa* begins about ninety miles south of Cusco, and is the principal of all the provinces included under the name of Callao. Its plains are interrupted by gentle eminences, and both abound in good pasture; it is accordingly remarkable for the number of its cattle, in which it carries on a very beneficial trade; but the air throughout is cold, and the only fruits of the earth it produces, are papas and quinoas. It has

several silver-mines, which are very rich and constantly worked.

Carabaya begins one hundred and eighty miles, south-east of Cusco, and extends above one hundred and fifty miles. The greatest part of it is cold, but the vallies are warm enough to produce coca, fruit, grain, and pulse; and it has sufficient pasture for cattle of all kinds. Here are several gold-mines, and the two famous lavatories *, called

* Lavaderos, or lavatories, are places where gold is collected by washing the earth, and are formed and conducted in the following manner:—Where, in the judgment of the mineralogists, gold is supposed to exist, a pit is dug in the angles or corners of the gul-lies formed by the rains; a stream of water is conducted through the pit, and the earth is stirred and mixed with the current, which carries part of it into another reservoir, very shallow, and formed like blacksmiths' bellows, with a descent to carry off the water with some rapidity: but the earth from out of the first pit is principally conveyed to the second by mules or hand labour, and in this it is stirred and mixed with the water by an iron hook, which, at the same time, serves to pick out the stones, which must be thrown out of the water that they may not interrupt the current of water, which ought to carry every thing along with it but the gold, which its weight precipitates to the flat bottom of the reservoir amongst a fine black sand, in which it is scarcely more discernible than when mixed with the soil, unless it appears in sizeable grains, which is often the case. Much gold, in dust, however, may be supposed to be carried off by the stream for the want of proper precaution. After the water is turned off the black sand is taken up, and put into a large wooden flat receiver, in the middle of the bottom of which there is a hollow place, one third of an inch in depth. A little water is poured on the sand, and it is stirred gently about by the hand by a rotatory motion, so that all the earth and sand is thrown together at the edges, and the gold, which the

Lavaderos de San Juan del Oro, and Pablo Coya; also that of Monte de Ananea, six miles from the town of Poto, where there is an office for collecting the king's fifth. A river, which separates this district from the country of the wild Indians, is known to abound so much in gold, that the Indians who live in subjection to the Spaniards, are sent out in companies from the towns in their respective districts to the banks of this river, where by washing the sand in small wells, which they dig for that purpose, they soon find a sufficient quantity of gold to pay the royal tribute. This kind of service they call *chichina*. This province has also several silver-mines which produce large quantities of that metal. In 1713, was discovered in the mountain of *Ucuntaya*, a stratum nearly of solid silver, which, though soon exhausted, yielded some millions, and hopes have been conceived from it of meeting with others whose riches will be of longer continuance. This jurisdiction is also famous for the gold-mine called *Aporama*, which is very rich, and yields gold of three and twenty carats.

The jurisdiction of *Avangaro* and *Asilo* is every where cold, and proper only for breeding of cattle, in which it carries on a considerable trade. In

motion must not be strong enough to move much, remains at the bottom in grains and dust, pure, clean, and of its natural colour; requiring no further refinement or preparation. The simplicity and cheapness of this method of collecting gold, gives it the preference over others, wherever it can be put in practice.

the north-east parts, which border on the district of Carabaya, there are both gold and silver-mines; of the latter, few, if any, are worked. In some parts, those roots and grains which flourish in a cool air, as papas, quinoas, and canaguas, are produced in abundance: of the two last, the natives make chicha in the same manner as it is made from maize.

The province of *Cuyo*, or *Chiquito*, the last portion of the viceroyalty that remains for consideration, contains the following towns:

Mendoza, the capital, which is situated in $34^{\circ} 20'$ S. latitude, and $68^{\circ} 25'$ W. longitude, at the foot of the Cordillera, and near the principal pass which leads over the mountains into Chili, and at the source of the small river Portillio, which helps to swell the lakes of Guanacache. This town was founded by Pedro Castillo, and received its name in honour of the then viceroy of Peru. It stands in a plain, and covers much ground, every house being surrounded by gardens, whose picturesque appearance make amends for the mean aspect of the buildings: as it is well supplied with water, by means of canals, no care is wanting to keep up the beauty and freshness of the gardens. The town contains about one hundred families, half of them Spaniards, and the other half mestices, besides slaves. It has a decent parish-church, two convents, and had a college of Jesuits.

San Juan de la Frontera, about one hundred miles north-east of Mendoza. It stands also on one of

the rivers that run into the lakes of Guanacache. In point of extent and buildings, it is equal to Mendoza, and surpasses it in the number of its inhabitants. Its name is derived from having been the frontier-place of the kingdom of Chili, when Cuyo was a dependency of it.

San Luis de Loyala, or *Oromonte*, is one hundred and seventy miles south-east of Mendoza, and seventy miles from the lakes of Guanacache. It is mean and small, not containing above twenty-five houses and fifty or sixty families. Yet it is remarkable that it contains a parish-church, a Dominican convent, and a college of Jesuits. *Uco* is a small town, about seventy miles south of Mendoza, but no ways remarkable.

CHAP. VI.

First discovery of Rio de la Plata—Juan de Solis—Sebastian Cabot—Story of Austado and Miranda—Pedro de Mendoza—Foundation of Buenos Ayres—Juan de Ayolas—His inland expedition and death—Story of Maldonata—Martin de Irala—Don Alvarez—Abandonment and re-establishment of Buenos Ayres—Excursions into the interior.

THOUGH Americus Vesputius, to whom the honour, more justly due to Columbus, of giving his name to the continent of America, has devolved, sailed along the coast of South America in the year 1501, as far as fifty-two degrees of south latitude, whence the cold and tempestuous weather compelled him to return to Portugal, yet in the imperfect account we have of this voyage, nothing occurs whence the actual discovery of Rio de la Plata can be attributed to him. It was in 1516 that this took place by Juan Dias de Solis, grand pilot of Castile, who had sailed from Spain to continue the discovery of Brazil. On the first of January in that year he entered a port, which he called *Rio Genero*, January River, which is the *Rio Janeiro* of the Portuguese, and took possession of it for the crown of Castile. Thence he conti-

nued to range along the coast, till he found himself in a bay, at the mouth of a great river, to which he gave his own name; but finding it full of rocks, shoals, and sand-banks, he durst not venture far up the river in his vessel. Loth, however, to quit the place, without some knowledge of the river, he went along the western coast in his long-boat, till he discovered some Indians, who seemed to invite him on shore. Deceived by their ambiguous demonstrations, he landed without any precaution, and accompanied by a very few men. In consequence of the imprudence of this step, he fell a sacrifice, together with nearly the whole of his party, to the treachery, or perhaps to the vindictive spirit of the Indians in revenge for some imaginary or real offence. De Solis, and those who were with him, were devoured by the savages within sight of those who had remained in the boat, or had taken refuge in it. The crew of his vessel, being deprived of their commander, returned to Spain; and the discovery was for some years neglected or forgotten.

The fate of some Portuguese, who, a few years after, penetrated into Paraguay by the way of Brazil, was equally lamentable. On the reports which began to fill all Europe of the immense riches found by the Spaniards in Peru, Don Martin de Sosa, governor of Brazil, resolved, if possible, to share their good fortune; and he dispatched Alexis de Garcia, a man on whose courage and fidelity he could rely, on an expedition over land. Garcia

took with him only his son, and three other Portuguese, with whom he reached the Paraguay. Here he met a great number of Indians, and engaged a thousand of them to follow him; he then crossed the river, and penetrated to the frontiers of Peru, collecting some gold, and a considerable treasure in silver. On his return to that part of the Paraguay, where the Indians had joined him, he formed a design of making a settlement there, and with this view, he sent off two of his companions with dispatches to the governor of Brazil, some ingots of gold and silver, an account of his journey, and the plan he had formed, remaining himself amongst the Indians, with his son, who was very young, and the other Portuguese. Scarcely, however, had his messengers left him, when the Indians massacred him and his companion, made his son a slave, and took possession of all his treasure. About sixty Portuguese and a large party of Brazilians, were sent, upon receipt of Garcia's dispatches, to join him, under the command of George Sedenno; but they were so harassed by the Indians in their progress, that, after losing their commander and several men, they fled towards the Parana, in crossing which, on their return, all the remaining Portuguese, and most of the Brazilians were drowned.

Disheartened by these events, neither the Spaniards nor Portuguese attempted any further conquest of, or settlement in, these regions; till Sebastian Cabot, or Gaboto, a Venetian, who, in 1496, had

discovered Newfoundland, and part of the continent of North America, for Henry VII. of England, finding himself neglected by the English, went over to Spain, where the reputation he had acquired as an able navigator, procured him the situation of grand pilot of Castile. Magellan's ship, the *Victory*, had lately returned from the first circumnavigation of the world; the success of which expedition induced some merchants of Seville to engage Cabot to attempt the same voyage with a fleet. Cabot, however, not choosing to act merely as the servant of a trading company, provided himself with a commission from the emperor Charles V. which was signed the 5th of March, 1525.*

Cabot put to sea the first of April, 1526, being reinforced by a fifth vessel, which a private adventurer had fitted out at his own expence. Much blame is cast by the narrator of Cabot's expedition, on his conduct during the voyage, which terminated at the estuary of Rio de la Plata, then called Rio de Solis. On his arrival here, he determined

* The substance of this commission was, that Cabot should have the command of a squadron of four ships, in quality of captain-general, and that Martin Mendez, who had been treasurer to Magellan's squadron, and came home on board the *Victory*, should serve under him as his lieutenant: that he should sail through the newly discovered straights, then cross the South Sea, to the Molucca Islands, and thence proceed on the discovery of Tharsis, Ophir, and Cipango: and that he should there load his ships with gold, silver, and other precious commodities of the country, and return to Europe.

not to proceed farther, as well because he had not provisions enough for the long voyage of circumnavigation, which was the original object of the expedition, as because the crews of his ships began to mutiny. Having turned adrift, on a desert island, Martin Mendez, and two other commanders, who had blamed his conduct, and counteracted his authority, he resolved to proceed up the large river, at the entrance of which he found himself.

Sailing up the river as far as the islands which lie opposite to Buenos Ayres, and which he named the islands of San Gabriel, he left his ships there, and proceeded in his boats through the channel between the islands and the continent to the right. Meeting with a little river on the right, he called it Rio de San Salvador, built a small fort on the banks of it, and then detached some soldiers, under the command of Juan Alvarez Ramon, up the river Uruguay, which he took for the true Rio de Solis.

Ramon, after three days navigation, having the misfortune to run aground on a sand-bank, was killed by the Indians with some of his people; the rest escaped by swimming, and made the best of their way back to Cabot, who then returned to the islands of San Gabriel.

Having now discovered his mistake, he sailed about thirty leagues up the Paraguay, and built a fort at the mouth of the river Zarcaranna, the name of which was changed by the Spaniards into that of Rio Tercero. This fort he called the Fort of the

Holy Ghost ; and leaving a garrison in it, he proceeded up the river to the confluence of the Parana with the Paraguay, when finding himself between two large rivers, he entered that which appeared the broadest, which was the Parana; but finding that it turned to the east, he returned to the confluence for fear of advancing too far into Brazil, and sailed up the Paraguay, where some Indians attacked him, killed twenty-five of his men, and took three prisoners. This blow was, however, soon returned by Cabot, who attacked the Indians in his turn, and killed a considerable number of them. A large booty in gold and silver was made; and it is supposed that these Indians were the same who had massacred Alexis de Garcia, and the treasure they possessed was that which he had brought from Peru. As Cabot knew nothing of this, he looked upon all the gold and silver he had taken, as the produce of the mines in the neighbourhood; and no longer doubted of it, when some other Indians, whom the terror of his arms, or the courteousness of his behaviour, had induced to enter into an alliance with him, not only supplied him with provisions, but also gave him bars of silver in exchange for Spanish goods of very little value. He therefore bestowed the name of *Rio de la Plata* on this river; a name which has proved the source of many mistakes to those who did not know the true meaning of it.

Just as Cabot was preparing to return to his

ships, with the treasure he had amassed, a Portuguese captain, named Diego Garcias, who had been sent by the governor of Brazil to reconnoitre the country, and take possession of it for the crown of Portugal, arrived at his camp.

As Garcias on the one hand was not strong enough to execute his commission in spite of the Spaniards, whom he did not expect to find in such numbers on the banks of the Paraguay, so Cabot, on the other, reflecting that he was himself too weak to prevent the Portuguese from making themselves masters of the country, in case they returned with superior forces, engaged Garcias to accompany him to the Fort of the Holy Ghost, whence after a few days he set out for Brazil.

From this circumstance Cabot considered his presence necessary in Paraguay, and therefore, instead of returning to Spain, as he had intended, he dispatched Fernand Calderon, whom he had appointed treasurer to his fleet in the room of Mendez, with all the silver he had collected, and a letter for the emperor, giving an account of every thing he had seen and done; pointing out the best measures for securing the country to the crown of Castile; and requesting succours for that purpose.

Calderon reached Spain in the beginning of the year 1527, and met with a very favourable reception from the emperor. The sight of the silver, being, it is said, the first brought from America to Spain, dazzled him to such a degree, that he not only approved of every thing Cabot had done, but

ordered a great armament to be prepared for that country. Two years, however, having elapsed without Cabot's hearing any thing of the good dispositions of the emperor, he thought it his duty to return to Spain, lest any longer delay might give the Portuguese a desire, and afford them an opportunity, of returning to Paraguay. Having therefore nominated Nuno de Lara as governor of the Fort of the Holy Ghost in his absence, and left him one hundred and twenty men, and all the provisions he could collect, he set out to join his squadron, and immediately put to sea.

A tale is here interwoven in the history of the first establishment on the banks of the Paraguay, which is so much in the romantic and chivalrous taste of the Spanish literature of that period, that its historical truth has been doubted, and its similarity in some points with more ancient tales has been considered as invalidating its authenticity. It has, however, been recorded, and repeated by every historian of South America, and is in itself an interesting episode, relieving the dryness of chronological detail, and varying the scene from public and general events to those of a domestic and personal nature. As such it would scarcely be excusable to omit it.

Lara seeing himself surrounded by nations from whom he could expect no respect but in proportion as he could command it, applied himself to the cultivation of a good understanding with one

of the nearest and most powerful tribes, the Timbuez. His success in this, however, soon proved fatal to him, from an unsuspected source, and in a manner little to be expected. Mangora, the cacique of the Timbuez, in the course of the frequent visits he paid to Lara, became enamoured of Lucia Miranda, a Spanish lady, the wife of Sebastian Hurtado, one of the principal officers of the fort. It was not long before she perceived it, and knowing what she had to fear from a savage, with whom it was the commander's interest to live upon good terms, she did all that lay in her power to prevent being seen by Mangora; and to guard against any surprise or violence. Mangora, on his side, contriving how to get her out of the fort, and within his power, often pressed her husband Hurtado to pay him a visit, and to bring his wife with him. Hurtado, to whom Miranda had confided the passion Mangora had conceived for her, and her apprehensions, with a policy suited to the situation of circumstances, in declining the invitations of the Indian chief, alleged that a Castilian soldier could never leave his camp or garrison without the permission of his commander, nor could with honour ask that permission, except to fight and conquer his enemies. The cacique was not duped by this evasion, but soon perceived that, for the accomplishment of his purpose, the removal of Hurtado was a necessary step.

Whilst brooding over the means of fulfilling his

desires, he learnt that Hurtado had been dispatched, with another officer called Ruiz Moschera and fifty soldiers, to collect provisions. Looking on this, therefore, as a favourable opportunity, as it not only removed the husband, but weakened the garrison, by which the wife might be expected to be protected, he posted four thousand picked men in a marsh in the neighbourhood of the fort, and set out for it with thirty others loaded with refreshments. On his arrival at the gates, he sent word to Lara, that, hearing how much he was in want of provisions, he was come with enough to serve him till the return of the convoy. Lara received the treacherous cacique with the greatest demonstrations of friendship, and insisted upon entertaining him and his followers. This was what Mangora had expected, and he had accordingly given his men instructions how to behave, and appointed signals for those he had posted in the marsh.

The entertainment lasted till the night was far advanced; when the Spaniards rising to break up, Mangora gave his attendants the appointed signal. Upon this, giving the Spaniards sufficient time to retire, the Indians set fire to the magazines of the fort. The alarm was immediately spread, and most of the Spanish officers were dispatched as they rose from their beds upon hearing the cry of fire; the rest were killed in their sleep: and the four thousand men, posted in the marsh, having at the same time been let into the fort, it was

immediately filled with confusion and slaughter. The governor, however, revenged himself upon the perfidious cacique; for, though severely wounded, having espied Mangora, he rushed upon him, and run him through the body, but was himself immediately after overpowered and slain by the Indians.

Of all the Spanish inhabitants, none now remained alive but the unfortunate Miranda, the innocent cause of so bloody a catastrophe, four other women, and as many little children, who were all bound, and brought before Siripa, the brother and successor of the late cacique. At the sight of Miranda's beauty, Siripa immediately conceived the same passion for her that had proved so fatal to his brother, and ordered her to be unbound, relinquishing the other prisoners to his attendants. He then told her, that she must not consider herself as a captive, and solicited her favour with a gentleness and address that love alone could have inspired in the heart of a savage. He compared the situation of her husband and himself, one a forlorn fugitive in the forests of an hostile country, the other the chief of a powerful nation, possessed of luxuries and riches. The virtue, however, of Miranda was proof both against persuasion and against the fear of death and slavery, and Siripa's offers were rejected with scorn, and with a degree of acrimony intended to excite his rage, and impel him to order her imme-

late destruction, by which she hoped to escape the infamy of violation.

Her behaviour, however, had a very different effect, and tended more to heighten the passion of the cacique, by increasing his esteem, or enhancing the value of his expected conquest from the difficulty attending it. He treated her with moderation and lenity, and shewed her more civility and respect than could well have been expected from a savage, little inured to controul his inclinations, or respect the chastity of the sex.

In the mean time, Hurtado, on his return with the convoy of provisions, was greatly surprised to find nothing but a heap of ruins, where Cabot's fort had stood. He soon learnt that his faithful wife was a captive to the cacique of the Timbuez; and, with an imprudence and temerity impelled by his conjugal affection, he immediately repaired to the place of her residence. Siripa soon learnt the arrival of Hurtado, and, indignant at his presumption, as well as actuated with inveterate hatred towards the man, who alone possessed the affections of Miranda, and was, as he conceived, the sole obstacle to his happiness, he instantly seized him, and ordered him to be bound to a tree, and pierced to the heart by the arrows of his subjects.

The power of beauty here again prevailed; and the ardent intercessions of Miranda soothed the savage into a remission of her husband's sentence.

Hurtado was unbound, but he was retained as a captive. Tormented with various passions, Siripa, at times, seemed determined to sacrifice the husband to his jealous rage; but at others, the desire of propitiating Miranda so far overcame his enmity, that Hurtado was even permitted to see his wife. Their visits to each other became by degrees more frequent and more unrestrained; but one fatal interdiction bereft them of happiness. The cacique warned them against any indulgence in caresses that might awaken his dormant envy. Vain, however, were the considerations of prudence; vain the many resolutions they formed to abstain from the enjoyment of every conjugal rite. Restriction but served to increase desire, and one fatal moment deluded them into the threatened destruction. Siripa surprised them in each other's arms; and, with ungovernable rage, at their contempt of his authority, and this outrage upon his feelings, he ordered them both to instant execution; Hurtado to the punishment from which he had before escaped, and Miranda to the flames.

Moschera, who remained to command the few surviving Spaniards, repaired Cabot's fort; but finding at last that it was to no purpose to continue there, as the animosity between the Spaniards and Indians was become irreconcilable, on account of the treachery of the latter, he abandoned the fort, and embarked with the remnant of his garrison on board a small vessel which Cabot

had left behind him, with which he proceeded to the coast of Brazil, and afterwards to the island of St. Catherine, where he formed an establishment, from which, however, the Portuguese soon expelled him.

The court of Spain had not, in the mean time, lost sight of Paraguay; and preparations were made for forming a powerful settlement on the Rio de la Plata, greatly surpassing such as had been made to establish colonies in any other part of America.

Don Pedro de Mendoza, great cup-bearer to the emperor, was appointed commander in chief of the expedition, adelantado, and governor, and captain-general of all the countries that might be discovered as far as the South Sea, on condition that he should transport thither, in two voyages, one thousand men and one hundred horses, with arms, ammunition, and provisions for one year, the whole at his own expence. He had permission to make establishments in any part which he might think proper, of the lands he might discover, and was gratified with a pension for life of two thousand ducats. It was further stipulated, that, after residing for three years in his government, he might return to Spain, and name a governor to succeed him, who should be entitled to the same prerogatives; that, though according to the laws, the kings or Indian caciques taken in war were to pay their ransom into the exchequer, these ransoms should be divided between the

governor and the troops, after deducting one-tenth for the use of his majesty ; and that in case any treasures belonging to caciques killed in war should fall into the hands of the Spaniards, they should be equally divided between his majesty and the governor.

Orders were given to equip, at Cadiz, a fleet of fourteen ships ; and Don Juan Osorio, an Italian, who had distinguished himself greatly in the wars of Italy, took upon himself the command of it, in quality of lieutenant to Mendoza. These great preparations, and the reports that had been spread of the riches of the countries watered by the Rio de la Plata, attracted so many persons, even of the most ancient nobility of Spain, that the first armament, instead of five hundred, which was the number originally proposed, consisted of twelve hundred men, amongst whom were thirty noblemen, all the eldest sons of their families, and several Flemish officers. In fact, no Spanish colony boasts of such illustrious names amongst its founders, and the posterity of many of them still subsist in Paraguay, especially in the capital of that province.

The fleet put to sea in the month of August, 1535 ; but after passing the line, were dispersed by a severe storm. The ships commanded by the adelantado's brother, Don Diego de Mendoza, and a few others, reached the islands of St. Gabriel in safety ; but that which carried the adelantado himself, and all the rest, were obliged to

take refuge in the harbour of Rio Janeiro. In this place Osorio was assassinated, and it was supposed, by the contrivance of the adelantado, and many dissensions prevailed in the fleet on the occasion; exasperated at the suspected iniquity of their commander, many resolved to remain in Brazil, and others were preparing to return to Spain; when the adelantado, having received notice of their design, put to sea immediately, and arrived safe at the islands of St. Gabriel, where the whole of the fleet was now assembled.

From this station Don Pedro, sent Don Sanchez, del Campo to look out for a convenient spot for the projected establishment; and this officer fixed upon the present scite of the city of Buenos Ayres; where Mendoza immediately ordered the plan of a town to be traced out. Upon this, every man, without distinction, immediately put his hand to work, and in a short time, they were all conveniently lodged.

But it was not long before the natives of the country gave the new comers great reason to suspect that they were no ways disposed to favour the establishment; and, as provisions began to grow scarce, the adelantado sent out his brother with a detachment of three hundred men, with instructions to obtain a supply by force, if he could not procure any by fair means. The second day of their departure they fell in with a body of three thousand Indians, who were advantageously posted behind a little river and a marsh; the Spa-

niards attacked them, but were repulsed, and the Indians routed and pursued them. Not above one hundred and fifty Spaniards escaped the field of battle, of these almost one-half died of fatigue, or of their wounds, during the retreat, and Don Diego de Mendoza lost his life on the occasion.

The scarcity, which had for some time past prevailed at Buenos Ayres, now became a dreadful famine; and Don Pedro departed on an expedition up the river in quest of some relief against the famine, which had actually killed about two hundred of the settlers. On this excursion, stopping to consider the ruins of Cabot's fort, he found its situation so advantageous, that he built a new fort there, under the name of Good Hope, though some authors call it by that of Corpus Christi. His chief motive for making this establishment, was the expectation of obtaining supplies of provision from the Timbuez, whom Don Juan de Ayolas, his lieutenant, had succeeded in reconciling with the Spaniards. Remaining himself at this spot, he sent Ayolas to continue his navigation up the river, and gave him three barks and fifty men for that purpose. With Ayolas, went likewise, by permission of Mendoza, Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, and some other gentlemen; and the party were recommended to transmit within four months, an account of their transactions and discoveries, if they did not themselves return within that time.

At Buenos Ayres the famine became very pres-

sing ; and the Indians waylaid all who sought for relief in the adjacent fields. Hence, a prohibition, under the penalty of death, was laid upon any excursion beyond the limits of the garrison, and to enforce its observation, guards were placed at all the outlets into the country. This circumstance has given rise to another romantic tale, which, although improbable, has received the sanction of the most authentic writers. A woman, named Maldonata, having eluded the vigilance of the guards, and wandering for some time about the country, at length entered a cavern, where she was startled by the sight of a lioness, who, however, attempted no outrage, and was soon perceived by Maldonata, to be upon the point of littering, and in great agony. Maldonata, with a courage proportioned to the desperate situation she was in, approached ; and assisting nature, the lioness was soon delivered of her burthen. The benefit she had thus bestowed was repaid by the lioness, who shared between Maldonata and her whelps, the abundant supply of food which her daily excursions procured. She thus lived in the cavern till the whelps had attained the strength necessary to seek their own subsistence, when they disappeared, as did the lioness, no longer attracted to the cavern by the instinct of maternal affection. Quitting, therefore, her asylum, Maldonata was again reduced to ramble through the woods and deserts, and soon fell in with some Indians, by whom she was made a slave. At length,

however, retaken by the Spaniards, she was brought back to Buenos Ayres, where Don Francisco de Galan commanded, in the absence of Mendoza. Severity and cruelty were the characteristics of Galan, and, as Maldonata had infringed the prohibition above alluded to, he condemned her to the penalty of death, and of such a death as none but a tyrannic and ferocious disposition could invent. He ordered her to be taken into the country, tied naked to a tree, and left there to become the prey of the wild beasts, or to perish by hunger. Two days after, the party that had executed the orders of the commander, were sent to see what had become of her, and, to their great surprise, they found her alive and unhurt, though surrounded by wild beasts, who were kept at a distance by a lioness, who was lying at her feet. This was the same lioness that had been relieved by Maldonata in the cavern. She related the story to the soldiers, who unbound her, and took her to Buenos Ayres. This double wonderful preservation of Maldonata procured her pardon from Galan, who would have been considered as opposing himself against the Providence of Heaven, had he attempted to enforce the rigour of his sentence.

The famine which raged at Buenos Ayres, was sometime after, in some measure relieved, by Don Gonzalez de Mendoza, who went to Brazil in quest of a supply, and returned with a cargo.

He was soon followed by two others, with Moschera and his colony from St. Catherine.

Don Juan de Ayolas on his side, pushed up the river, as far as a place he called Puerto de la Candelaria, or Candlemass Port, where he was assured by the Guaranis Indians, that by marching overland to the westward, he would meet with nations that had a great deal of gold and silver. He resolved to go in quest of them, and he left his vessels at Candlemass Port, under the command of Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, to whom he delegated all the authority he himself possessed, and to whom he gave directions to wait there six months for his return, at the expiration of which, if he heard nothing from him, Irala might take what course he thought proper.

But Irala remained at Candlemass Port only four months, and no news arriving from Ayolas, Mendoza became very uneasy, as Ayolas was the officer on whom, and deservedly, he placed the most confidence. He, therefore, dispatched Don Gonzales de Mendoza and Don Juan de Salazar, in search of Ayolas.

A short time after this, Mendoza embarked for Spain, but died on the passage. He left Galan in the command of Buenos Ayres, and named Ayolas his successor in the government, having also appointed him his heir, in the event of his death.

When the news of Mendoza's death reached Spain, there were two ships, in the port of Seville, fitted out on his account, which sailed from Cadiz,

under Alphonso Calrera, towards the end of 1537, in company with a galleon sent by the emperor, loaded with arms and ammunition, under the command of Don Lopez de Aguiar. Calrera carried out a commission, appointing Don Juan de Ayolas, governor and captain-general of the province of Rio de la Plata. But this expedition did not reach Buenos Ayres till 1539.

In this interval, Gonzales de Mendoza and Salazar reached Candlemass Port, without being able to meet with any intelligence, respecting Ayolas; but they were informed, that Irala was amongst the savages of the neighbourhood, where they accordingly found him; and, in conjunction with him, they made many inquiries and excursions in search of Ayolas, but all to no purpose. They, therefore, fell down the Paraguay, to the mouth of the northern branch of the Pilcomayo, opposite to which, on the eastern bank, they built a fort, which they called Assumption, and which, under the same name, soon grew into a city, and became the capital of the province.

Mendoza remained here, whilst Salazar went down to Buenos Ayres, which he found reduced to the last extremity. Famine had then advanced to its greatest height; and Galan was universally detested by the inhabitants. Salazar's arrival gave them great joy, which was considerably augmented by the arrival of the three vessels from Spain, under Calrera, which came to an anchor there two or three days after. As Salazar reported that

there was no scarcity of provisions at Assumption, Galan and Calrera resolved to go thither themselves to obtain a supply; but they were greatly disappointed to find a similar scarcity prevailing there, from the ravages of the locusts in the neighbourhood, which had appeared after Salazar had left the place; so that Galan found himself under the necessity of immediately returning without the hoped-for supply.

On his arrival at the Fort of Good Hope, he was informed that a tribe of Indians in the neighbourhood, called Caracoas, were accused of having favoured the enemies of the Spaniards. Without examining whether the charge was true or false, he displayed his vindictive and treacherous disposition, by surprising the Caracoas, after he had treated them in the most friendly manner; and setting fire to their villages, he carried off a great number of their women and children, whom he distributed amongst his soldiers. He then re-embarked, leaving Don Antonio de Mendoza in the command of the fort, with one hundred soldiers. This perfidious conduct immediately awakened all the ancient animosity of the Timbuez against the Spaniards; and, employing treachery in their turn, they succeeded, upon some plausible pretences, in inducing Antonio de Mendoza to give them the assistance of half his garrison upon an expedition they pretended to undertake. The second day after this detachment had left the fort, Mendoza was first apprised of their fate, no one having escaped to

relate it, by the return of the Indians, who invested the fort with the most hideous shouts. Mendoza made a sally, but lost his bravest men, and was himself severely wounded. All hopes were nearly at an end, when two Spanish brigantines, from Buenos Ayres, anchored before the fort; by which timely succour, the Timbuez were obliged to retire with considerable loss. Some days after, Mendoza dying of his wounds, the officer who succeeded him, seeing no appearance of being able to preserve the Fort of Good Hope, demolished it, and embarked the miserable remains of the garrison on board the brigantines.

Irala, in the mean time, continued his exertions to obtain some intelligence of the governor, and at length met with an Indian, one of the nation called Chanes, inhabitants of the plains, who gave him an account that Ayolas having obtained a reinforcement from the cacique of the Chanes, had penetrated to the frontiers of Peru, and had returned to the country of the Chanes loaded with gold and silver. Proposing to return to the place where he had left his vessels on the Paraguay, a number of Indians were appointed by the friendly cacique of the Chanes to assist in the conveyance of his treasure, amongst whom was the Indian who gave this relation. When he came to the place, however, his vessels were not to be found, and a few days afterwards, being entangled in some marshes, the Spaniards and their friends were attacked by the Payaguas, a tribe that has been described in

the blackest colours, by the Spanish writers; all the Spaniards, and many of the Indians, were killed, and the narrator, with the rest of his countrymen, were made slaves of. Ayolas, who had escaped amongst the bushes, was, however, soon discovered, taken alive, and put to a cruel death. This Indian had made his escape from the Payaguas, and had been wandering about for some time in search of the Spaniards, to give them this intelligence.

Irala was prevented from chastising the Payaguas, by the overflowing of the rivers, and by the sickness of his men; and he returned to Assumption, which began to wear the appearance of a city, and where most of his officers had taken up their residence. These were called in the dispatches of the court, the conquerors of Paraguay; they formed for a long time the council of the province, and the emperor, in most of his letters to the governors, ordered them to undertake nothing without their advice. Ayolas having delegated his authority to Irala, for the time he should be absent, the latter considered himself as governor of the whole province till the emperor's pleasure was known.

Buenos Ayres was, in the interim, losing its inhabitants from day to day; and the last provisions brought from Spain having been consumed, a third famine ensued; and Galan and Calrera proceeded to Assumption, with as many of the inhabitants as could find room in their vessels.

Calrera here produced an Imperial Cedulla, by which he was enjoined, in case the person who might have been appointed governor of Rio de la Plata, by Don Pedro de Mendoza, should be dead without nominating a successor, and the founders and conquerors of the province had not themselves put one in his place, to assemble them for the election of a governor. This commission was proceeded in, and Irala was almost unanimously appointed governor in the room of Ayolas. Calrera, before he dismissed the electors, proposed the abandonment of Buenos Ayres; which was strongly supported by the new governor, and at length determined upon. Irala's motive, on this occasion, has been supposed to have been the ambition of rendering himself independent; as upon the abandonment of the establishment at the mouth of the river, no orders from court could reach him but with great difficulty, and very tardily, whilst, being at so great a distance in the interior of the country, he might easily find pretences for eluding them, should they prove any way disagreeable to him. This resolution was immediately carried into effect, and Buenos Ayres was completely evacuated in 1539, and its inhabitants transferred to Assumption. Amongst the transmigrants were the crew of a Genoese vessel, which, on her voyage to Peru, with a cargo worth fifty thousand ducats, having put into Rio de la Plata, had been wrecked on a sand-bank near Buenos Ayres. On board this ship were several

Italian gentlemen, whose posterity still exist in Paraguay. The names of the principal were, Aquino, Rizo, and Trochi. Assumption was now surrounded by a palisade, a police established, and its inhabitants were found to amount to six hundred men besides women and children.

In the same year, on the occasion of an intended grand religious procession, at which all the Indians of the neighbourhood were invited to assist, a discovery was made of the intention of the Indians to fall upon and exterminate all the Spaniards: in consequence of which all the principal chiefs were seized and hung; and the singular conclusion of this occurrence was the real or pretended acknowledgement of the Indians, that they deserved this treatment, accompanied with an offer of wives to such of the Spaniards as were unprovided with any, which was accepted; these intermarriages were the first that occurred, and the Indian women proving fruitful, and agreeable in their persons and manners, induced many other Spaniards afterwards to contract alliances of the same kind.

In the mean time the emperor engaged Don Alvarez Nunez de Vera Cabeça de Vaca, to furnish the expences of another armament for Rio de la Plata, and appointed him *adelentado**, and go-

* The dignity of *adelentado* is merely civil, and entitles the person invested with it to the first place only in the council for civil affairs, and in the courts of justice; so that in the army, an *adelentado* may act as a subaltern officer.

vernor and captain-general of that province. It is a peculiarity in the emperor's instructions to Don Alvarez, that he should not, above all things, tolerate any lawyers or attornies in his government. As soon as Don Alvarez had received his dispatches, he repaired to Seville, where he purchased two ships and two caravels, and embarked on board the four vessels, with four hundred soldiers. From Seville they proceeded to Cadiz, and sailed from that port in the beginning of November, 1540. After touching both at the Canary and the Cape Verde islands, they arrived at the island of St. Catherine, in March 1541. Some Spaniards who came to St. Catherine's, in an open boat, having deserted from Buenos Ayres, gave him an account of the unsettled state of affairs in the province; of the misery to which Buenos Ayres had been reduced; of the death of Ayolas, and that Irala had been acknowledged governor of the whole province. Upon this, Alvarez judged his presence so immediately necessary at Assumption, that he resolved to proceed thither by the shortest road, and to make the best of his way in a direct line across the country.

After leaving orders with Don Pedro Cabeça de Vaca, to set sail for Buenos Ayres with the first fair wind; he set out with two hundred and fifty men, on the 8th of November, to join a party he had dispatched before for the river Habucu. After nineteen days' march, during which his little army were often obliged to open themselves a road by dint of labour, they began to want

provisions; but arriving soon after amongst the Guaranis, they were supplied with all manner of provisions. He took possession of their country for the crown of Spain, and gave it the name of *Provincia del Campo*; and he named another part which he passed through, after his family, *Provincia de Vera*, but these appellations exist no longer.

After this Don Alvarez bent his march towards the Iguazu, in order to embark there, and fall down to its junction with the Parana. On his entering the Parana he lost one of his men, by the oversetting of a canoe, in one of the eddies or whirlpools, formed by the confluence of the two rivers, which he regretted the more, as till then he had not lost a single man, in his long and painful march from the sea-coast. On the Parana such of his men as were no longer in a condition to proceed by land, were embarked on rafts, with fifty men to defend them, in case they should be attacked; and he went forward himself, with the rest, in a more direct line. At length he arrived at Assumption, on the 11th of March, 1542. Irala received him at the head of the garrison. Don Alvarez then produced his commission, and Irala saluted him as *adelentado*, governor, and captain-general of Rio de la Plata. Don Alvarez, on his part, confirmed Irala in his post of king's lieutenant, and all the officers of justice in theirs, and every thing passed, in appearance, to the greatest satisfaction of all parties. The Spaniards, whom Don Alvarez had

left to follow him on rafts, did not arrive till a month afterwards. They were attacked by some Indians, who attempted to draw the rafts on shore, and would, perhaps, have succeeded in the attempt, if a Christian cacique had not come to the assistance of the travellers with all his warriors.

Don Alvarez knew nothing of the evacuation of Buenos Ayres till his arrival at Assumption, when his first care was to take proper measures for its re-establishment. He sent four brigantines thither, and omitted nothing to put a place, whose importance he was thoroughly convinced of, in a respectable situation. He zealously endeavoured to gain the affections of the neighbouring Indians, and to convert them to the Catholic faith. In the next place, he applied himself to repress the insolence of some Indian tribes, who were constantly committing hostilities against the Spaniards. He began by the Agazes, or Algazes, who lived to the east of the Paraguay, above Assumption. These savages are described as of the tallest stature, of a very treacherous disposition, and to the last degree fierce and inhuman. He conciliated these and other nations by his insinuation and address, or awed them into subjection by his firmness and conduct. The Guaranis, and some other tribes, who had submitted to the Spaniards, made heavy complaints to him of the Guaycurus; and finding, upon inquiry, that they were well-founded, he took the field, in conjunction with the Guaranis, in July, 1542. He had

four hundred Spanish soldiers, and his Indian allies amounted to ten thousand. The Guaycurus were defeated, and Don Alvarez marched back to Assumption, with four hundred prisoners. The Guaycurus afterwards sued for peace; various other Indian tribes submitted themselves to the authority of the Spaniards, and Don Alvarez's conduct is highly extolled in gaining their good opinion, and inducing them to live on a friendly footing with the Spanish inhabitants.

Don Alvarez next was chiefly employed in taking measures for assisting the Spaniards whom he had sent by sea from St. Catherine to Buenos Ayres; and, for this purpose, he dispatched two brigantines, loaded with all manner of civil and military stores, and manned by one hundred men, under the command of Don Gonzalez de Mendoza. He then sent a detachment of troops against the Agazes, who suffered themselves to be surprised, and lost a great number of men; fourteen prisoners taken from them were hanged. Upon this the whole nation submitted to all the conditions he thought proper to prescribe, especially when they heard of his having taken another measure, which spread his reputation all over the country.

He had received intelligence that the son of the unfortunate Alexis Garcia was still a captive among the Indians, who had killed his father, and carried off his treasures; and he sent several times to request his release, but those savages butchered all his messengers, except one, whom they sent

back to acquaint him, that if he dared to present himself before them, they would treat him as they had done his messengers. Don Alvarez, incensed at this affront, ordered his nephew, Don Alphonso Requelmi, to pick out three hundred Spaniards, and a thousand Indians, to march against them. Requelmi attacked and defeated them, killed three thousand, and made four thousand prisoners.

Don Alvarez's joy, for the success of this expedition, was soon troubled by the arrival of four brigantines from Buenos Ayres, with Pedro Cabeça de Vaca, and all the Spaniards, whom the governor had sent by sea from the island of St. Catherine. On their arrival at Buenos Ayres, they had taken measures to alter the situation of the town; but as winter came on in the mean time, and all the rivers had overflowed their banks, the only step that could be taken was to proceed to Assumption. Mendoza, too, who had just been sent down for the re-establishment of Buenos Ayres, had been still more unfortunate. One of his vessels, loaded with provisions, was wrecked, and some of the crew drowned; his own vessel suffered very severely, and he was compelled to return to Assumption.

In 1543, that town experienced a very great disaster. An accidental fire consumed two hundred houses, and left only fifty standing, which were separated from the rest by water. The governor in this calamity exerted himself to relieve the sufferers, sending to all the Indian towns around to

buy provisions, at his own expense. He then furnished the money requisite to supply the other wants of the inhabitants; so that all the houses, which had hitherto consisted of nothing but straw, were, with inconceivable dispatch, re-built of earth.

Don Alvarez had sent Irala on discoveries towards the sources of the Paraguay; and that officer, who had three stout brigantines, and was accompanied by ninety Spaniards, and a great number of Indians, arriving at the mouth of lake Xarayes, named a port, on its western shore, Puerto de Los Reyes, or King's Port, because he entered it on epiphany, or twelfth-day; and then proceeded by land towards the west, and met with several nations who had a great deal of wrought gold and silver; but he could not discover whence they obtained it.

In consequence of Irala's report, Alvarez resolved upon undertaking a similar expedition himself, and appointing Don Juan de Salazar to command in his absence, he set out with two hundred Spaniards, followed by twelve hundred of the bravest Guarani warriors in canoes. Shortly after his arrival at Puerto de la Candelaria, he was amused by the Payagua Indians, who sent a message to him, soliciting to enter into a treaty with the Spaniards, and saying that they still were in possession of all the treasure taken from Ayolas, which they were disposed to restore. Upon being asked in what the treasure consisted, they said in as much gold and

silver in bracelets, crowns, and other ornaments, as sixty Indians could carry. But though the messenger promised that the cacique of the Payaguas should come to enter into a personal treaty with Don Alvarez on the following day, none of them ever came; and it was surmised, that this pretence at negotiation was merely to gain time to remove their treasures out of his reach. Don Alvarez was advised to pursue them by his Guarani interpreter, in whose opinion it would not be difficult to overtake them, as they were so heavily laden; adding that by what he knew of the country, they would not halt till they arrived at a lake, well stored with fish, in the centre of a very fine country, and which had been very populous before the Payaguas had destroyed its inhabitants. Don Alvarez took the Guarani's advice, and landed with great part of his troops at the mouth of a river, by which the lake empties itself into the Paraguay. Before he could reach this river, he observed a numerous body of Indians, who, he was informed, were the Payaguas, endeavouring to make their escape; but, though he followed for eight days together the course of this river, and made the tour of the lake whence it issues, he could meet none of them; and therefore, judging that it would be to no purpose to proceed farther in quest of such a roving unsettled people, he made the best of his way back to Candlemass Port. Here he embarked again, and proceeded up the river as far as King's Port. Here he set up a cross, and

erected a chapel. His men now began to murmur at going farther, and, tempted by the beauty and fertility of the island of Orejones, before described, proposed an establishment there. Soon after this, Mendoza arrived with the rest of the fleet, and informed the governor that the Guaroropos Indians had attacked a brigantine, and killed five or six Spaniards: that they had afterwards set out to prevail on the Indians in the neighbourhood of King's Port, to join them against the Christians; and that there was great reason to dread a general conspiracy of all these nations. Don Alvarez received, at the same time, intelligence by Hector D'Acuna and Antonio Correa, whom he had sent with ten or twelve soldiers to invite the Xarayes to conclude a treaty with them, that, after traversing some overflown countries, where they suffered a great deal for the want of provisions, they at last came to the Xarayes, who were very willing to enter into a treaty with the Spaniards, and their cacique offered to furnish Alvarez with an interpreter who had travelled much, and might be of considerable service to him.

Don Alvarez received the cacique's offers very graciously, and, leaving his brigantines to the care of one hundred Spaniards, under Juan de Romero, he set out on his journey westward. After five days march, during which there was no travelling but by cutting a passage through the woods, he reached the banks of a river, whose water was very warm, and at the same time very transparent.

Though several nations sent deputies to him with compliments and provisions, others attempted to oppose his passage. He had now travelled a great way, when he came to a large town, consisting of 8000 houses or huts, in the centre of which was a tower or pyramid of timber, the abode of a monstrous serpent, deified by the Indians. The capture of this town and destruction of its divinity terminated his expedition, as his soldiers here loudly murmured and refused to accompany him farther. He therefore returned to Puerto de los Reyes, where he was informed by the Orejones, that, by ascending the Iguatu, he would meet with various rich and powerful nations; and upon this he dispatched fifty of his best men under Fernandez de Ribera, to prosecute discoveries by that route*.

* The account of Ribera's expedition is pregnant with wonders, related to him by the Indians whom he met with. Proceeding up the Iguatu for six days he found it to be formed by the junction of two other rivers, called the Yacareati and the Yaya; the former, he was informed, issuing from the mountains to the west, and the latter from those to the north, fall precipitately into a very low country, first mixing their waters, and then separating and forming a very great island, well inhabited by different nations. He left his brigantine and twelve men at this confluence, and proceeded by land till he came to the latitude of $14^{\circ} 53' S.$ It was by the Ur-tuezez Indians that he was told of a nation of Amazons, as related in page 43; and he was likewise informed of the existence towards the north-west of large and populous towns, of nations possessing great treasures, of lakes of immense extent, and other fictions, which obtained ready belief from the credulous cupidity of the age.

The overflowings of the rivers, now occasioned many disorders amongst the Spaniards, and Don Alvarez himself fell sick. The Indians, perceiving their distressed situation, harassed them without intermission. The governor was therefore obliged to return to Assumption, which he did on the 8th of April, 1544. The moderation and justice he displayed on this occasion towards the Indians, and his firmness in resisting the cupidity and tyrannic desires of his companions, fomented the discontents that had prevailed in the colony amongst the partizans of Irala, ever since his arrival. When about to embark on his return, he gave directions that all the Indians who had been left as hostages with him, for the good behaviour of their countrymen, should be restored to their friends. These orders, which were firmly carried into effect, gave great offence to the Spaniards, who had already considered these hostages as their slaves, notwithstanding Alvarez produced an order from the emperor, not to carry off any Indians by force out of their country, nor to suffer others to do so.

On his arrival at Assumption he found Salazar occupied in making preparations for the extirpation of the Agazes, who had constantly harassed the Spanish settlers and their allies the Guaranis. But, fearing new domestic disturbances, Alvarez would not engage in hostilities against them; whilst, finding that a caravel which he had ordered to be built, before he set out on his late expe-

dition, was ready for sea,* he determined to embark in her as soon as his health would permit him.

The schemes and machinations of the malecontents, had now, however, attained a greater consistency, and a more daring aspect, than Alvarez had any conception of; and he was soon after seized and confined by an armed faction under the ostensible command of Cacerez Cabreraz and Garcias Venegas, but, in fact instigated by Irala, whose disappointed ambition could only be gratified by the entire removal of his more illustrious rival. Irala assumed the government the day after, declaring that he did it only provisionally, and until the royal pleasure should be known; and the most zealous of Alvarez's friends were seized and confined; whilst the populace and the soldiery, who were, in general, much attached to him, were kept in check by the declaration of the conspirators, that the first commotion should cost the governor his life.

Alvarez was confined with the greatest rigour; whilst Irala and his adherents, the promoters of this revolution, unrestrained by the humanity, the temperance, and the justice that had characterized his proceedings, indulged the evil propensities of the Spaniards. The Indian towns around were now the scenes of pillage and riot; their

* This confirms what has been stated, that the Paraguay was formerly, if it be not now, navigable by sea-ships, as high as Assumption.

women were taken away by force, their provisions and property plundered or destroyed, and themselves compelled to the hardest personal servitude.

About this time, about fifty Spaniards left the colony, and made the best of their way through Brazil, in order to acquaint the emperor with the disorders that prevailed; whilst, with a perversity and blindness, which often defeats the purpose of the most cautious offenders, the enemies of Alvarez determined upon sending him to Spain, with grievous accusations, and a feigned process, flattering themselves that they could so represent matters as to obtain the approbation of the court to their conduct. On the other hand, his friends did not forget him. They caused judicial reports to be made of every thing that had occurred, and, together with various documents, which Alvarez had put into their hands before his imprisonment, they enclosed them in a beam, hollowed for the purpose, which they found means to have nailed to the stem of the vessel in which he was to embark; the carpenter who had been bribed, alleging that this precaution was necessary for strengthening the bows.

Cabreras and Venegas accompanied Don Alvarez as his guards and intended prosecutors; but putting in, after three months protracted navigation, at the Azores, they proceeded by another vessel they found there, and arrived in Spain twelve days before him. Both Cabreras and Ve-

negas, however, died soon after they had laid their accusations and papers before the council of the Indies, and the prosecution against him failed completely; whilst Lopez de Ugarte, who had been sent over by Irala, as his agent in this affair, never could obtain permission to return to Paraguay.

Alvarez, however, was not fully acquitted of every thing laid to his charge, in less than eight years; nor did the council think proper to send him back to Paraguay, lest his presence there should occasion fresh disturbances. The emperor granted him a pension of two thousand gold crowns, together with a seat in the council of the Indies, and one in the Royal Audience of Seville.

CHAP. VII.

Government of Irala—His expeditions—Encomiendas and their origin—Death of Irala—Foundation of Santa Cruz de la Sierra—Juan Ortiz de Vergara declared governor—Deposed by the viceroy of Peru, and Juan Ortiz de Zarate appointed in his stead—Dissentions at Assumption—Foundation of Santa Fé—Government of Tucuman established, and towns built there—Chuquisaca and Los Charcas—Re-establishment of Buenos Ayres—First introduction of the Jesuits—Reflections on the Spanish colonial policy.

IRALA, being thus established in the government, resolved to prosecute the discoveries which his predecessor had commenced; being actuated both by the policy of giving employment to many, who might at home be inimical to his interests, and by the desire of making himself necessary, by entering into the views of the emperor. After successfully exerting himself in repressing the insults of the Indians around Assumption, and leaving Don Francisco de Mendoza, to act as his lieutenant during his absence, he embarked with three hundred Spaniards, in four brigantines, followed by three thousand five hun-

dred friendly Indians, partly in pirogues, and partly by land.

From Puerto de los Reyes, he proceeded to the Xarayes, who supplied him with provisions and guides; and, leaving his vessels under the charge of these Indians, he directed his course to the westward, and, after many days march, arrived on the banks of the Guapay, which joins the Mamore, and runs into the Maragnon. Hence he travelled till he reached the Sembicosis, a nation that resided at the foot of the Cordillera of Peru, from whom he procured much gold and silver. He here learnt the dissensions that prevailed in Peru, in consequence of the revolt of Gonzalez Pizarro; and, thinking this a favourable opportunity to ingratiate himself with the emperor, he sent Nuflo de Chaves to the president de la Gasca, with an offer of himself and all the troops that were with him. The president accepted his offers, and named Don Diego de Centeno, to govern Paraguay during his absence. But, as Irala's messengers made a very long stay, as they had to go to Lima, his troops mutinied, and he was obliged to return. Finding, at his return amongst the Xarayes, that his vessels were in good order, he took shipping, and dropped down to Assumption, where he did not, however, arrive till the year 1549, being the third after he had left it.

In this interval great changes had happened; and Irala being supposed, from his long absence, to have shared a similar fate with Ayolas, Don

Francisco de Mendoza proposed the election of a new governor, in the expectation that the choice would fall upon himself; but in this he was disappointed, and Don Diego de Abreu was elected. Mendoza, upon this, conspired to remove him; but his cabal was discovered, and he was seized and beheaded by his more fortunate rival.

Upon Irala's return, Abreu, with some of his friends, fled into the interior of the country, where, however, he was overtaken and killed. These transactions were attended with much violence and confusion; and Irala, though in many respects extremely well qualified for the supreme command, is arraigned, not only of crimes and treachery in the attainment of it, but of tyranny and excess in the exercise of it. The impunity with which he permitted the soldiery and his adherents to maltreat, not only the Indians, but the rest of the Spaniards, produced many revolts amongst the former, and much discontent amongst the latter. Sensible that he had many enemies, he incessantly employed spies, and inflicted death or imprisonment whenever he suspected that attempts were made to convey intelligence of his proceedings to Spain, or to the viceroy of Peru, from whom, as being nearer at hand to controul disorder, or punish malversation, he had more to dread than from the inefficient mandates of the metropolitan government.

It arose from the complaints that had reached the president de la Gasca, that he designed Centeno

to proceed to Paraguay. Centeno was an old officer, whose name is famous in the history of Peru, and whose instructions were replete with the wisest and most beneficent regulations for retrieving affairs in Paraguay. The intentions of Gasca, were, however, frustrated by Centeno's death, which happened in the midst of the preparations making for his departure.

Irala, thus freed from the danger of being supplanted from Peru, applied himself to the making of useful establishments. Perceiving that the colony could scarcely subsist without a port of ready and convenient access from the mother-country, he sent two brigantines, under Juan Romero, to fix upon a spot for that purpose. Romero stopped at the mouth of a little river that joins the Plata, somewhat above the islands of San Gabriel, and laid down the plan of a city, under the name of San Juan, which is likewise that of the river; but the Indians annoyed the new settlers to such a degree, that the attempt was given up, and Romero returned to Assumption.

Some time after the Guaranis of the Parana, who had submitted to the Spaniards, applied to the governor for assistance against the Tapez, a nation inhabiting the frontiers of Brazil, who, supported by the Portuguese, made frequent irruptions, and committed many ravages amongst these Guaranis. Irala undertook an expedition himself on this occasion, and, defeating the Tapez, relieved the Guaranis from their encroachments. In consequence

of this excursion, he resolved to build a town in that quarter, and sent thither Garcias Rodriguez de Vergara, in 1554, with sixty men, who fixed upon a spot on the right bank of the Parana; where he built a town, which he called Ontiveras, after his native place in Castile; but the name was soon lost in that of Guayra, by which the province in which it was situated became known.

During these occurrences, measures had been taken in Spain for sending a new governor to Paraguay; and Don Juan de Sanabria had agreed with the emperor to be at the expense of an armament. He was created adelantado, governor, captain-general, and alguazil-major of the province of Rio de la Plata, and invested with all the power and privileges which had before been conferred on Don Pedro de Mendoza. Sanabria died whilst he was making preparations for the voyage; and the emperor renewed the treaty with his son; who embarked for his government, but perished by shipwreck, at the mouth of Rio de la Plata, with all his company, except a few sailors, who carried the news of this disaster to Assumption.

That city was erected into a bishopric by Pope Paul III. in 1547, but it was not till 1554 that bishop Pedro de la Torre sailed for Paraguay. He left Spain with three ships full of men, arms, and ammunition, sent by the emperor, under the command of Martin de Urua. Commissions were sent out by this conveyance to Irala, continuing him in his government; who thus, by a fortuitous chain

of circumstances, saw himself confirmed in the enjoyment of his usurped authority. At the same time various orders and regulations were brought over, the principal of which related to the *encomiendas*, or personal services of the Indians.

These *encomiendas* were a method contrived to reward those who had contributed to the establishment of the colony, and who, as has already been observed, were styled the conquerors of Paraguay. All the Indians, who were reduced into subjection, either by force or fair means, were divided into departments or *encomiendas*, which were granted to private persons, for a certain number of years, more or less, according to their rank or services. On the expiration of this term, the Indians devolved to the crown; and the governor either employed them in the public works, or made them over to other private persons, so that each adventurer partook of their services in his turn. This service consisted in their labouring for him gratis for two months, and paying him out of what they could earn during the other ten months, a tribute of five piastres, from which those who were under eighteen, or above forty, were exempted. The fifth of this tribute was appropriated to pay the priest of the district. In return for this service, those who enjoyed it, called *encomenderos*, were to provide their Indians with necessaries, and to see that they were instructed in the principles and practice of the Christian religion. But, as Charles V. foresaw that these regulations alone would never

suffice to protect the Indians against the exactions of their encomanderos, he ordered that officers should be appointed to receive their complaints, and to do them justice, with power to deprive of their encomiendas those who should have been proved to have made an ill use of them. The wisest precautions, and the severest laws, form, however, but weak barriers against avarice and oppression; especially when the distance of the sovereign, and the facility of corrupting those entrusted with the execution of his orders, afford hopes of impunity; a truth which was rendered evident by the fate of these encomiendas; which were made the instruments of the most cruel bondage, and severe oppression.

As the number of reduced, or converted Indians, was not sufficient to supply all the Spaniards who laid claim to their services, it was resolved by the governor to form new settlements, in order to dispose of the natives in their vicinity in the same manner. In 1557, Ruy Diaz Melgarejo was sent into the province of Guayra, and, after surveying a great part of it, he considered the situation of the capital indifferent; he therefore removed all the inhabitants to the other side of the Parana, about nine miles higher, where he built a new town, and called it Ciudad Real. Forty thousand of the surrounding Indians were given to the inhabitants, who found no great difficulty in bringing them to cultivate the soil, which, in

a short time, rewarded their pains with plentiful crops of grain, pulse, and cotton.

Nuño de Chaves was dispatched about the same time, to make a similar establishment amongst the Xarayes: but he either did not, or would not, find a situation adapted for the purpose; and proceeded to the westward, endeavouring to make a settlement amongst the Chiquitos Indians.

Pending this expedition, Irala was seized with a fever, and died at Assumption, nominating his son-in-law, Don Gonzalez de Mendoza, lieutenant-general and commander of the province, till the emperor's pleasure should be known.

Chaves, in the mean time, had advanced as far as the plains of Tamaguaco, where he met with Andreas Manso, whom the marquis de Cannette, viceroy of Peru, had sent with a strong detachment, to make a settlement there. Chaves hereupon put himself under the government of the viceroy of Peru, and went to Lima, whence he returned as lieutenant to Don Garcias de Mendoza, whom the viceroy had nominated governor of the whole of this country. Chaves began the exercise of his charge by founding a town, which he called Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and reducing or converting sixty thousand Indians, principally of the nation of the Moxos.

The lieutenant-general at Assumption, had died in the interval, and Don Juan Ortiz de Vergara having been unanimously elected to succeed him,

had, in the year following, 1559, to quell a revolt of the Guaranis, near Assumption, whose yoke became more intolerable from day to day; and he had scarcely returned from this expedition, when an Indian arrived to require succours in the name of Melgarejo, against those in the neighbourhood of Ciudad Real, who had likewise taken up arms. The Indian stated, that Melgarejo was closely besieged; and that he had passed unsuspected through the thickest of the enemies. The governor, seeing him naked, with nothing but his bow and arrows about him, asked him what proof he could give of his commission. Upon this the Indian put his bow into the governor's hands, and desired him to examine it well. Neither the governor nor his attendants could discover any thing to attract their attention about the bow; when the Indian, taking it back, shewed them in the middle of the bend within side, a small grove, so well closed as to be indiscernible: from this he took a note from Melgarejo, which was to serve him as his credentials. Don Alphonso de Requelmi was sent to the relief of Ciudad Real, which he found reduced to great extremity, and he spent the whole of the winter of 1560 in re-establishing the tranquillity of the province of Guayra.

Vergara, not having yet received his commission as governor from the emperor, was advised to apply to the viceroy of Peru to confirm him; and, as soon as he had suppressed a new revolt amongst the Indians, in doing which much blood was spilt

on both sides, he resolved to proceed thither in person. The bishop of Assumption accompanied him, and Vergara, appointing Don Juan de Ortega to command during his absence, took with him three thousand Spaniards, and an equal number of Indians. Nuflo de Chaves, who had returned to Assumption to fetch his wife and children, set out with him; and, on his arrival amongst the Itatines, persuaded three thousand of them to follow him. Vergara had no sooner entered the territory of Santa Cruz, than Chaves declared to him that he alone had a right to command there, which occasioned great confusion; and being followed by a great scarcity of provisions, this, together with the fatigues of the journey, proved fatal to numbers. The Itatines, especially, suffered severely, and refusing to proceed farther, stopped where the land had the appearance of fertility, and built themselves a town, about ninety miles from Santa Cruz. Chaves next disarmed Vergara, and all who accompanied him, who, on his arriving at La Plata, the capital of Los Charcas, found that still greater mortification awaited him there.

No less than one hundred and ten heads of accusation against him had been laid before the royal audience; one of the principal of which was, his having drawn from the province, at a great expense, so many Spaniards and Indians, of whom great numbers had perished on the journey. He was hence referred to Lima, where he was divested of his government, and ordered to appear before

the council of the Indies. His government was given to Don Juan Ortiz de Zarate; who, in 1566, went to Spain to procure his commissions directly from the king, naming Philip Caceres his lieutenant-general. Caceres, with the bishop, and the remainder of the Spaniards and Indians, who had left Paraguay with Vergara, returned in the following year through Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where they found Chaves extending his settlements, but who was killed shortly after by the Itatines. Caceres and his companions encountered much difficulty from the hostility of the Indians on their route, but arrived at Assumption early in 1569. Dissentions shortly after broke out between the lieutenant-general and the bishop; and, after mutual recriminations and measures of hostility, they both proceeded to Spain, whence neither of them returned to Paraguay.

Don Martin Suarez de Toledo now assumed the government, ad interim; and about this time, in 1573, Juan de Garay, a private Biscayan adventurer, founded the city of Santa Fé, a little above the place where the Rio Salado, coming from Tucuman, falls into the Paraguay. Thence navigating in small craft up the Salado, at a critical moment, when upon the point of being surrounded by hostile Indians, he met with a detachment of Spaniards, under the orders of Don Jerom Luis de Cabrera, governor of Tucuman, who having founded the town of Cordova in the same year, had sent them to reconnoitre the country. The

governor of Tucuman now claimed the dominion of Santa Fé, which Garay refused to admit, that place having been founded by him under the auspices of the commander of Assumption.

In the mean time, the adelantado, Don Juan Ortiz de Zarate, arrived at the island of San Gabriel, and hearing of the foundation of Santa Fé, by Garay, sent him a copy of his own commission, and appointed him his lieutenant for Santa Fé, which put an end to the dispute.

Tucuman was pretty well inhabited when the Spaniards subdued Peru. The nations nearest that empire had submitted to the Incas; and others were governed by independent caciques. Some Spaniards occasionally traversed this province, but no part of Tucuman was regularly settled till 1542; when Vaca de Castro, viceroy of Peru, after defeating the younger Almagro, distributed amongst his captains the governments which his victory had placed at his disposal; and he gratified with that of Tucuman, though not as yet conquered, Don Diego de Rojas, who had distinguished himself in the civil wars. Rojas entered the province with three hundred men, and surveyed part of it; but, in the year following, was killed by a poisoned arrow. Francisco de Mendoza became general in his stead, but he only rambled about the country, and made no establishment in any place. At length, the president de la Gasca, in 1549, appointed Don Juan Nunes de Prado governor of Tucuman, and gave

him troops to keep the Indians in awe, and families to people the country.

To secure an easy passage into his province, Prado founded a town in the valley of Calchaqui, which he called San Miguel; and, soon after this, Don Francisco de Vilagras, who was marching at the head of some troops, from Peru into Chili, having taken his route through Tucuman, encroached upon Prado's authority, pretending, that this province depended upon Chili. Prado took up arms to support his right, but was defeated and taken prisoner. Vilagras, however, released him, on condition that he should acknowledge the governor of Chili for his superior.

Prado survived this disgrace but a short time; and, soon after his death, Baldivia, the conqueror and governor of Chili, sent Don Francisco de Aguirre to Tucuman, to command there as his lieutenant. He founded, in 1562, the town of San Jago del Estero; and two years afterwards, that of San Miguel was transferred from its original situation to where it now stands, sixty miles to the north-west of San Jago. In 1567, Don Diego de Heredia built, on the banks of Rio Salado, a town, which he called Nuestra Senora de Falavera, but which was better known under the name of Esteco, being that of the place where it stood, for it now no longer exists. Esteco, Salta, and Jujui, were built by way of barriers to Tucuman, against the incursions of the Indians of

Chaco; and, in order to fortify this province to the south, a fortress had been built in 1558, by Don Juan Gomez de Zurita, to which he gave the name of Cannette, and which was afterwards, when erected into a city, called New London, but which is now in ruins.

Zurita was the first who gave a regular form to Tucuman. He successfully made war against the Indians, and in 1558, when the numbers who had been subjected were taken, it was found that eighty thousand paid tribute to the king of Spain. Zurita, notwithstanding his success, incurred the displeasure of the governor of Chili, who, in 1561, sent Don Gregorio Castanenda to supersede him. He refused to give up his post, but was attacked, defeated, and sent prisoner to Peru; and, in 1563, Tucuman was annexed to the viceroyalty of Peru, and subjected to the jurisdiction of the royal audience of Los Charcas.

Chaco was first attempted to be reduced about this time, by the marquis Cannette, viceroy of Peru; who, in 1556, sent Andreas Manso on that service. He advanced as far as the extensive plains between the Pilcomayo and the Vermejo, and began to build a town; but he was surprised and killed by the Chiriguanos, and these plains have ever since been called the plains of Manso.

The establishment of the Spaniards in Los Charcas was at an early period after their subjugation of Peru. Various adventurers had, at different times, made predatory excursions into the

extensive territories adjacent to the Peruvian empire, which had been partially subjected to the dominion of the Incas. No permanent settlement, however, was effected till 1538; when Gonzalez Pizarro, and other commanders, marched from Cusco, at the head of a considerable body of troops, and advancing into the country¹ of Charcas, were opposed by the nations that inhabited it with such vigour, that it was not till after several obstinate battles that they submitted. But their resistance did not equal that of the Chuquisacans; for Pizarro, after several actions, having penetrated to their principal town, they besieged him in it, and the danger was so great, that without the speedy succours sent to him from Cusco by his brother, the few Spaniards who survived the former actions would have been all cut off. On the arrival of this reinforcement, amongst whom were many volunteers of distinction, the Indians were defeated, and submitted to the Castilian authority. In the following year, Pizarro, convinced of the importance of making a strong settlement here, commissioned Pedro Anzures to build a town, which was accordingly done, on the scite of that of Chuquisaca, and a great number of those who had shared in the conquest, continued there, in order to subdue the adjacent nations. This town they called Plata, in allusion to the silver-mines in its neighbourhood, whence the Incas received great quantities of silver: but the primitive name of

Chuquisaca has prevailed, and is now commonly used.

To return to the history of Paraguay. The frequent loss of ships coming from Spain, for want of a safe harbour at the mouth of the Plata, at last made the Spaniards fully sensible of the necessity of one, and the re-establishment of Buenos Ayres was therefore determined on, and carried into effect in 1580. The adjacent Indians at first annoyed the place exceedingly; but Juan de Garay, who was employed by the adelantado on this occasion, succeeded in quelling their opposition. The city remained for a long time in a state of poverty, from which it emerged by degrees. In 1700 its population was estimated at about sixteen thousand souls.

It was about this period that the fathers of the the society of Jesus were first called into the country, to aid in the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, which had ever been an avowed, but a very neglected, object of the conquerors of America. Their efforts produced, in a short time, such singular effects, and influenced so much upon the political situation of the country, that it may be proper here to pause and take a review of the antecedent part of this colonial history.

The early establishments of colonies, the discovery and conquest of remote countries, and the exploits of those adventurers who primarily fixed themselves in the new world, are objects of such

interest, that a more particular detail has been entered into of the early chronological events relative to Paraguay than will be found necessary in the sequel. But from these details, the Spanish commanders, who subjected a part, ravaged more, and traversed nearly the whole, of these extensive regions, will appear not to disdain a companion, either in their hardy, uncontrouled, and independent spirit, or in their ambition and rapacity, with the followers of Cortes, or the companions of Pizarro.

Unlike, however, in one respect, the low, the needy, and the desperate adventurers, who fought for fame and riches under the banners of those leaders, many of the most ancient names enrolled in the nobility of Castile, are found amongst the conquerors of Paraguay. Yet, like them, impatient of controul, and ambitious of wealth and command, we find most of them pressing forward to attain a virtual independence, in the chief command of a province, or the subjection of an extensive territory. For though all professed obedience and respect to the metropolitan state, and to the imperial crown; the tedious length of communication, and the military power, and great wealth they had at command, rendered the mandates of the court frequently inefficient, and the tenure of its authority always precarious. Wars and dissensions amongst themselves were not unfrequent; one governor refused to acknowledge the supremacy of another; and ambition often retained by force or fraud those

dignities to which a successor had been appointed. Although no rebellion, equally formidable or extensive with that of Gonzales Pizarro in Peru, occurs in the annals of the surrounding countries, the dissensions and civil commotions at Assumption, were both more frequent, and more calamitous than those at Lima, or at Cusco.

But amidst the fierceness of contention, with which the invaders of the country disputed for pre-eminence or for spoil, the natives were preyed upon by all sides with unrelenting oppression; and the efforts of the parent state, to ameliorate their situation by laws and regulations, partially redressive, but ineffectual in operation, tended more to inflame the minds of the task-masters, than to relieve the misery of their servitors. Every attempt to improve the condition of the Indians, or restrain the inordinate desires of their conquerors, was considered as an encroachment upon their undoubted rights, and their dearly earned rewards. Every adventurer considered himself as a conqueror, entitled, by his services, to an establishment in that country which had been acquired by his valour. He joined his commander as a companion of his fortune, and disdained to degrade himself by receiving the wages of a mercenary. It was considered, that, as the Spanish court contributed little towards the expeditions that were undertaking, it was not entitled to claim much from their success. The sovereignty of the conquered provinces, with the fifth of the gold and silver, was reserved for the

crown; every thing else was seized by the associates in each expedition as their own right. The plunder of the countries they invaded served to indemnify them for the expense of their equipment, and the conquered territory was divided amongst them, according to rules which custom had introduced, as permanent establishments merited by their successful valour. In the infancy of these settlements, when their extent as well as their value were unknown, many excesses and irregularities occurred. The conquered people were frequently pillaged with destructive rapacity, and their country parcelled out amongst its new masters in exorbitant shares. The rude conquerors of America, attentive only to private interest, and to present gain, seem to have had no object but to amass sudden wealth, without regarding the means by which they acquired it; and tasks were imposed upon the Indians, without any regard either to what they were physically able to perform, or to the outraged feelings of humanity. The fatal consequences were, that they pined away and perished so fast, that there was reason to apprehend that Spain, instead of possessing populous countries, susceptible of progressive improvement, would soon only remain proprietor of a vast uninhabited desert.

This preponderating evil became evident in Spain, and gave rise to those reformatory regulations, which, as has been observed, were brought over by the bishop of Assumption in 1554, and con-

firmed and enforced by the instructions given to Don Juan Ortiz de Zarate.

The avarice and audacity of soldiers, unaccustomed to restraint, however, prevented these salutary regulations from operating with any considerable influence; and it was only the unpremeditated establishment of a system, similar to that which had been unsuccessfully planned by the benevolent Las Casas, that a stop was put to the inordinate waste of the human species in these regions, where, as well as in the other Spanish American dominions, the Indian race was rapidly hastening to extinction.

The extension of the empire of the cross, always the foremost pretence, and never the ultimate object, of the Spanish invaders of America, was little attended to; and although every expedition was accompanied by ecclesiastics, who sanctioned the enthusiasm with which those Indians, who resisted the arms of Spain, were at times extirpated as the avowed enemies of the true faith, and who administered the rite of baptism to such whom timidity or policy induced to submit to that badge of fidelity; yet little beneficial effect, or real conversion, attended their exertions. Intimidated or trepanned into the profession of Christianity, it was natural for the Indians, when opportunities offered, to throw off the yoke of the Spaniards, to abandon the practices of their religion; and though early missionaries frequently penetrated into the recesses

of the mountains, and the haunts of the fugitive inhabitants of the plains; they ought, perhaps, to be considered more in the light of political emissaries, than of preachers of the gospel. It was reserved for the Jesuits of Paraguay to demonstrate, that persuasion, humanity, and mildness, were not only the surest means of conversion, but also the best engines by which to establish a political sway over the Indians; whose mental capacities and corporeal abilities were considered as degraded below the usual standard of man, till the exertions of these meritorious missionaries proved them in these respects equal to the remainder of their species.

Previous to this period, the bishops of Paraguay and of Tucuman had frequently applied, in the strongest terms, to the kings of Spain, and the council of the Indies, for spiritual labourers to assist them in the discharge of their duty. The Jesuits, however, now began to be known in America; they had been employed for nearly thirty years in propagating the gospel in Brazil, which father Joseph Anchieta, had, in the quaint language of his encomiasts, filled with the odour of his holiness, and the splendour of his miracles; and they had likewise a provincial in Peru. Invitations were sent by the bishop of Tucuman both to Brazil and to Peru. In 1586 the first Jesuits that made their appearance in this country, fathers Francis Angulo, and Alphonso Barsena, accompanied by a lay-brother,

called John Villegas, arrived at Salta, from Los Charcas; and a short time after, fathers Juan Salonio, of Valencia in Spain, Thomas Fields, a Scotchman, and Emanuel de Ortega, a Portuguese, came from Brazil to Cordova.

CHAP. VIII.

*Progress of the Jesuits in Tucuman and Guyara—*their proposals to Philip III.—*Regulations in their favour—The missions molested by the Paulists—Origin of that community—Mamelukes—Removal of the missions—The Guaranis allowed the use of fire-arms—Change of affairs—Account of the political and other regulations of the Jesuits—Sequel to the history of their republic.*

AFTER various excursions through the Indian population of Tucuman, by the new missionaries, three of the fathers went to Assumption, at the request of the bishop of that place; and in 1588, they turned their views towards eastern Guayra. Two of them proceeded upon a mission amongst the Guaranis of that quarter, from whom, probably, the name of the province is derived. From Ciudad Real they proceeded to Villa Rica, administering spiritual aid to the Spanish and other inhabitants of those towns. They then visited the Indian towns and villages that were more particularly the objects of their mission, and followed the wandering Guaranis through their forests and over their mountains. When they returned to Assumption after several months

fatigue and labour, they reported that they had left behind them, two hundred thousand Indians ready for the rite of baptism.

In 1589, the plague raged with great violence at Assumption, and in the adjoining settlements, and interrupted to a great degree the labours of the missionaries. They were, however, soon resumed with a perseverance that would be incredible, were it not for the signal success which attended their endeavours. In the early part of the missionary labours of the Jesuits, the Spaniards were enthusiastic in their praises and benedictions; for their mediation was frequently and successfully exerted to repress the hostility of the wild Indians, and restrain the desertion of those who formed their encomiendas.

A revolt which broke out amongst the Calchaquis, contributed greatly to make the inhabitants of Tucuman consider the new missionaries as men equally useful to secure the repose of the Spaniards, and establish the Christian religion among the natives. There are two nations known by the name of Calchaquis, who, though they now live at a considerable distance asunder, originally formed but one, which, for a long time, was entirely confined to a valley lying to the west of Salta, which still retains the name of the valley of Calchaqui. These Indians had, for several years, been very troublesome neighbours to the Spaniards, till they were defeated, in 1565, by the governor of Tucuman; when part of them fled towards Buenos Ayres,

where their posterity still remain, and the rest were transported to the frontiers of Chaco, and divided in encomiendas. These, however, unable any longer to bear the drudgery of the personal service that was required of them, revolted, and took refuge in the mountains, whence they made frequent excursions into the Spanish settlements. In an expedition that was undertaken against them, in 1590, by Don Juan Ramirez de Velasco, accompanied by father Barsena, the governor, who was little acquainted with the country, got entangled in some defiles, where he was in the utmost danger of being cut off; when Barsena undertook to extricate him; and, advancing alone and unarmed to the Indians, his powers of persuasion were so speedily and successfully exerted, that a treaty was immediately concluded with the Calchaquis, who refrained from molesting the Spaniards afterwards.

In 1595, a college of Jesuits was established at Assumption, and the enthusiasm of the inhabitants, in their favour, is described as so great, that the building was completed by the manual exertion of the most considerable amongst the Spaniards; women of the first rank being even ambitious of putting a hand to it. This great attachment shewn to the Jesuits was chiefly owing to the facility, with which they were known to manage the most untractable of those Indians who surrounded the Spaniards; and against whom both force and fair means had previously been found

unavailing. On the other hand, the Indians flattered themselves that the Spaniards might be prevailed upon by men, for whom they expressed so much esteem, to treat them better than they had hitherto done. This, their own interest, should have induced the Spaniards to do; for past experience had sufficiently demonstrated, that the only way to establish themselves firmly, amongst so many nations, jealous of their liberty, and unaccustomed to servitude, was to treat them with forbearance and with equity. The Spaniards, however, in a short time, changed their opinion of the Jesuits, and soon vilified the same men they had extolled to the skies, merely because they pleaded the cause of humanity, and of those Indians, without whose good-will and welfare, it was almost impossible for the Spaniards to retain possession of the country.

The Omaguacas, a fierce and savage nation, established on the frontiers of Tucuman and Peru, who, after receiving the gospel and submitting to the crown of Spain, had renounced the Christian faith, thrown off the Spanish yoke, murdered their missionaries, twice destroyed the town of Jujui, and incessantly harassed the Spaniards, were induced to lay aside their hostility, and were, in a great measure, re-converted to Christianity, by the address and exertions of two Jesuits, in the course of two years; and, shortly after, the whole nation even consented to remove from their original seat, and followed their spiritual leaders to

a spot nearer Tucuman, where a zealous secular priest, who understood their language perfectly well, was appointed to govern them.

Hitherto the exertions of the missionaries had been desultory and isolated. Wandering over extensive provinces, they effected numerous conversions, but made no permanent establishments. In 1602, however, whether in consequence of the intriguing spirit of ambition that has been ascribed to the society, or of a more fervent zeal for the propagation of the faith, the general of the Jesuits sent father Paez with a commission to all the missionaries in South America; and it was earnestly recommended to them, to form fixed settlements, instead of those rambling missions they had been accustomed to. A plan was at first proposed to leave to the Jesuits of Brazil, all the country to the east of the Paraguay and the Rio de la Plata; and the Jesuits, in consequence, left Assumption, but they returned in 1604, though it was not till 1610, that any of those regular establishments took place in Guayra, which laid the foundation of that singular and extensive Christian republic in the wilds of South America, that has been the subject of so much political, philosophical, and religious discussion.

In the mean time, father Diego de Torrez arrived from Rome, in quality of provincial of Chili and Peru, and brought with him fifteen Jesuits; whilst, in 1608, eight more landed at Buenos Ayres,

where some of them were retained, and founded a college.

The commerce of this port had began to flourish; for, though it was not opened to strangers, yet many foreign vessels put in from time to time, as if driven in by stress of weather, or upon some other pretext, were well received, and carried on a trade equally beneficial to themselves and the inhabitants. The Indians near the town still continued in their primitive state of savageness and hostility, massacreing every Spaniard they met with. Some of them had indeed been reduced, but they were subjected to personal service, which rendered the few attempts that had been made to convert them abortive.

The Jesuits continued to plead, with unshaken constancy, the cause of the oppressed Indians; and thus, clashing with the prejudices, the pride, and the interest of the Spaniards, they subjected themselves to much obloquy, and in some instances, to ill-treatment.

In 1609, Don Fernand Arias de Saavedra, the governor of Paraguay, in conjunction with the bishop, gave father Torrez, the provincial of the Jesuits, full power to collect all their newly-converted Indians into townships, to govern them without any dependence on the other Spanish establishments, to build churches, and to oppose in the king's name, all those who should, on any pretence whatever, endeavour to subject these new Christians to any personal service. Torrez imme-

diately dispatched the two fathers, Cataldino and Macerata, into Guayra, who formed the first town amongst the Guaranis, on the river Parapané, where the Pirapé falls into it, under the name of Loretto. These missionaries then made a tour of about two hundred and forty miles, in which they found twenty-three small villages, many of the inhabitants of which were Christians, and the rest were soon disposed to receive the gospel. The fathers represented to them how much it was to their interest to unite together, as, whilst they continued scattered in so many little straggling villages, it would be impossible for them to defend their freedom or to receive instruction. These representations began to work on the minds of the Indians, when the fathers saw all their expectations on the point of being blasted by the avarice of an inhabitant of Ciudad Real, who had accompanied them on this expedition, being perfectly well versed in the Guarani language, and serving as their interpreter. He had, however, his own views, and affected the greatest disinterestedness. The fathers were surprised that he never returned to their common cabin without appearing to have lost some article of his baggage, and even of his clothes; and one day on his returning with nothing but a pair of drawers, they could not refrain from asking him how he came to be stripped in that manner. He answered, "You preach one way, fathers, and I another. You have the gift of eloquence, with which God has not been pleased

“to favour me; but I endeavour to supply the
“want of it by my works. I have distributed
“every thing I brought with me amongst the
“principal Indians of the country, from a per-
“suasion that when the chiefs are gained by libe-
“rality, it will be easier for you to gain the rest;
“and I believe the work is already in great for-
“wardness.” Some time after the Spaniard took
his leave, and the fathers gave him many thanks
for his good offices; but they soon discovered that
he had parted with nothing but to purchase women
and children, and was carrying them away as slaves.
The Indians suspected the missionaries of having
had an underhand share in this infamous traffic; and
it cost them no little time and trouble to remove
their suspicions. But they at last did it so ef-
fectually, that most of them repaired to Loretto.

The accession of such numbers rendered it ne-
cessary to establish another town, which was
formed about five miles off, under the name of
St. Ignatius; and it was soon found expedient to
form two more for the reception of proselytes.
These establishments acquired so speedy and nu-
merous a population, that the two Jesuits imme-
diately saw the practicability of establishing a
Christian republic, upon the principles which had
probably been recommended to them from the
focus of their society in Europe.

Those who first conceived the idea of this im-
portant undertaking, represented to his catholic
majesty, in his council of the Indies, and to the

colonial government, that the progress of the gospel had not only been retarded, but the memory of the large conversions formerly made amongst the natives had been nearly obliterated by the conduct of the Spaniards. That the Christian religion was rendered odious to the Indians, and the dominion of Spain was detested by them, by the licentious behaviour of the Spaniards, and their cruel acts of injustice. That before they could undertake to convert the Indians to the faith of Christ, it was necessary to give them an authority, by which they might secure all their proselytes, both from the exercise of the tyranny, and from the influence of the example, of the Europeans. They at the same time declared, that they had no Indians in view, but those who had not yet been reduced, or such as had entirely thrown off the Spanish yoke; and, either in the spirit of loyalty and truth, or as a veil to cover the ambitious designs which have been attributed to them, they engaged that all the Indians who should submit to their conduct, should acknowledge the king of Spain for their sovereign, and swear the most unlimited obedience to him.

On this basis arose the empire of the Jesuits in Paraguay. Philip III. approved of their proposals, and authorised them by rescripts, which were confirmed by his successors.

Whilst Macerata and Cateldino were thus extending their spiritual conquests amongst the Guaranis, another reduction under the name of St.

Ignatius Guaza, between the Tebiquari and the Parana was founded; many of the Diaguites were converted; and a cacique of the Guyacurus applied for some Jesuits to instruct his subjects.

In 1613, Don Diego Martin Negroni was appointed governor of Paraguay, and a royal visitor arrived to establish further regulations as to the encomiendas; the former orders on that subject having either proved inefficient, or fallen into disuse. A compromise was entered into between the visitor and the encomenderos, and they were permitted to exact gratuitous service from the Indians under them for one month in every year, provided they paid them wages for the work done during the other eleven months; in process of time, however, things insensibly returned to their former footing, and the entire labour of the Indians was found scarcely adequate to the hard exactions of their task-masters.

It was likewise declared, that neither the Guaranis nor the Guyacurus, should ever be subjected to the encomiendas, and that the fathers of the society of Jesus should alone be charged with the care of instructing and civilizing them, and of engaging them to acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of Spain, of whom they were to be considered as the immediate vassals. The visitor had scarcely left Assumption, when the Jesuits, who were considered as the promoters of these new regulations, were compelled, in consequence of popular commotion, to withdraw from the place. They were soon, however, recalled; and a semi-

nary was opened under their guidance at Cordova, for the education of youth, chiefly intended to recruit the ranks of their society.

About this time, however, it was found that many of the supposed proselytes in Guayra, had only repaired to the reductions in order to avoid being molested by the Spaniards of Paraguay on the one hand, or by the Portuguese of Brazil on the other; and many of them, who had been too readily received, soon grew tired of such a regular life, and returned to the woods and mountains, when the missionaries least expected it.

In 1615, there were one hundred and nineteen Jesuits in the province; and this number was greatly increased in the following year, by a considerable re-inforcement from Europe. Several new missions were therefore set on foot; of the conductors of these, father Gonzalez had the greatest success; he founded a reduction at a place called Itapua, one hundred and eighty miles from Assumption, and two others in the neighbourhood. But Don Ferdinando Arias, who had married the father's sister, and had been lately promoted, for the second time, to the government of Paraguay, nearly destroyed these promising appearances by an indiscreet attempt to forward them. Contrary to his brother-in-law's advice, he determined to visit the new establishments, accompanied by fifty soldiers, whose appearance caused such an alarm amongst the Indians, that a large body assembled to cut him off on his return; which would have been the

case, had not Gonzalez's eloquence opened him a passage through them. The governor, on this occasion, offered the cacique, who commanded these Indians, a staff of command, in the king's name; but the barbarian prince nobly replied, that he had long been accustomed to command in the country without such a staff, and therefore desired him to keep the bauble for somebody else, who might deem it more worthy of his acceptance.

In the mean time, an epidemic disease broke out in the old reductions, and carried off a great number of the neophytes, whilst the inhabitants of Villa Rica surprised and carried off into slavery many of the new christians; and the missions began to be extremely annoyed by the inhabitants of St. Paul of Piritininga, a town and district in the province of St. Vincent, in Brazil, which, though of despicable origin, and of contracted extent, has become famous in the annals of these regions.

The first Portuguese inhabitants of Brazil were exiles from Portugal, who were condemned to banishment for their crimes, or persecuted by the inquisition for their schismatic opinions. Of these some of the more hardy and enterprising, founded in the mountains at the back of St. Vincent, the town of St. Paul surnamed Piritininga from the Indian name of the district in which it was situated. Remote from the jurisdiction of legal authority, little observant of the rituals of the church, and still less restrained by the obligations

of morality, the Paulists were, from the commencement, only nominally and precariously dependent on the government of Brazil. They intermarried with the Indian women; and by the dissolute and almost savage, but free and unrestrained, life they led, they drew together a number of fugitive slaves, and discontented and turbulent individuals, from the adjacent Portuguese and Spanish settlements; and their numbers were augmented by many of the Dutch invaders of Brazil, after they were expelled by Vieyra, in 1564. About 1618, they threw off all real dependence upon Portugal, and constituted a republic, whose fundamental law was licentiousness, and whose palladium was rapine. No stranger came within their precincts without being compelled to become a member of their state; and such as rejected the honours of citizenship amongst them, as well as all whom they suspected of an intention of desertion, were massacred without mercy; retrogression there was none, and repentance was unavailing. They carried desolation in their excursions to the most distant parts, and both the confines of Peru and the banks of the Maragnon, became, in progress of time, the scenes of their ravages. A principal object in their predatory expeditions, was the capture of slaves. The men were mostly either killed on the spot, or more inhumanly and wretchedly destroyed by the severest labour in carrying the booty of their ravagers over the rugged moun-

tains, and through the trackless forests in their route homewards. The women and children were added to their community; and the circumstance, of their ranks being thus recruited from all the surrounding nations, together with the consequent intermixture of blood, occasioned them to receive the appellation of Mamelukes; the terror of which name was spread farther and wider than that of their Egyptian prototypes.

The jealousy and animosity which prevailed between the Spaniards and Portuguese, even when the two nations were united under the same sovereign, favoured the political independent existence of the Paulists; and, though it was the interest of both nations to subdue and controul them, there never existed sufficient harmony between them to allow of success in such an enterprise. Besides this, the town of St. Paul was most advantageously situated for defence, and, from its inaccessible scite, was considered as impregnable by any other means than by famine; whilst a much more numerous body of troops would have been requisite for its blockade, than either Brazil or Paraguay could raise or support.

A pure air, a sky constantly serene, a temperate climate, although in the twenty-fourth degree of south latitude, and a soil fertile in wheat, in sugar, and in excellent pasturage, seemed to invite the Paulists to a life of comfort and ease, if not of luxury and indolence; but, an unconquerable spirit of libertinism and anarchy; and the

love of rapine inherent in these hardy banditti, enured them to, and endeared to them, the life of fatigue and of danger which they led, in traversing the extensive, wild, and scarcely accessible regions, of whose inhabitants, it has been calculated, that they destroyed, in the course of time, full two millions.

It was about this time, that a province, distinct from that of Paraguay, was established, under the name of Rio de la Plata. The Tebiquari was appointed the common boundary of these two provinces, and Buenos Ayres became the capital of the new one. It was afterwards ordered, that the reductions established in Guyara, and on the banks of the Parana, should be under the jurisdiction of the governor and bishop of Paraguay, and those on the Uruguay, under that of the governor and bishop of the new province. Don Manuel Arias was the first governor of Paraguay, under this new regulation; and Don Diego Gongora, then in Spain, was appointed governor of Rio de la Plata. Gongora, soon after he had embarked for his government, fell under the displeasure of the court, and a commissary was dispatched to Buenos Ayres to examine into the charges made against him, and eventually to supersede him. The inhabitants, however, had become so much attached to their new governor, that the commissary was sent back to Spain, without any regard to the royal authority under which he acted.

The reductions under the spiritual and temporal superintendence of the Jesuits had, in the mean time, been extended and increased to a considerable degree; and, in 1629, their number in the provinces of Guayra and Uruguay, and on the banks of the Parana, amounted to twenty-one. Notwithstanding the inroads of the Mamelukes, which had begun as early as 1620, they flourished from day to day, by the fostering and paternal care of their chiefs; and the reductions of St. Ignatius and Loretto might compare with the most flourishing of the Spanish cities in Paraguay; and surpassed them in the size and magnificence of their churches. But, in 1630 and 1631, the Mamelukes appeared in such force, and their attacks were so impetuous and reiterated, that the Jesuits and their neophytes were compelled intirely to abandon the province of Guayra, and to retire to the banks of the Uruguay, and to the other side of the Parana. Sixty thousand of the converted Indians are calculated to have been destroyed or carried off, in two years in these inroads, and many of the fathers lost their lives; though with inconsistent superstition, the Mamelukes, still retaining, or professing, veneration for the insignia and the ministry of the Christian religion, revered the crucifixes, and generally abstained from personal violence to those invested with the garments of holiness.*

* A singular instance of their inconsistency, in this respect, is related, on their surprising one of the reductions of Tapé, named

The Spanish inhabitants, and even their governors beheld, in the mean time, with inconsiderate listlessness, - and, perhaps, with latent complacency, the disasters thus accumulated upon the establishments of the Jesuits. It is stated that, in 1630, Don Luis de Cespedez put into a Brazilian port, in order to repair by land to the capital of Paraguay, of which he had lately been appointed governor, and happened to pass through St. Paul of Piratininga, at a time when nine hundred Paulists, and two thousand of their Indian or Mameluke allies, were preparing to break into Guayra, under the conduct of Antonio Rasposo, one of their most famous commanders. Although Cespedez was thus an eye-witness of the threatened calamity, yet when, on his passing through the reduction of Loretto, he was applied to for military assistance against the enemy, he absolutely refused every aid. Frustrated in obtaining the protection to which they naturally looked, the Jesuits sent deputies to Oliveyra, the Portuguese governor of Brazil, hoping that his inter-

Sta. Theresa, which happened just before Christmas; yet such was their outward veneration for the ceremonies of religion, that, on that festival, the whole of the banditti, who had just sacked the town, murdered some, and made slaves of the rest, of its inhabitants, appeared at the church of the mission, every man with a lighted taper in his hand, to hear the three masses of the day; and listened to the reproaches and the anathemas, which the fathers, who officiated, hurled at them from the pulpit, without betraying either indignation or remorse.

ference with the Paulists, who yet nominally acknowledged the dominion of Portugal, and who had no other mart than Brazil, for their supernumerary slaves, might tend to repress their violence and rapacity. Oliveyra listened to them, and appointed a commissary to repair to St. Paul, but unaccompanied by military force, the remonstrances of Oliveyra and the forms of legal interference were vain; and the inhabitants, one and all, declared they would rather be unbaptized, than suffer him to proceed in his commission.

The Spaniards, who had hitherto considered the settlements of the Jesuits in Guayra, as contributing little to the security of their other possessions in that neighbourhood, saw their mistake when it was too late to repair it. Their own territories were now incessantly ravaged by the Mamelukes; and the cities of Ciudad Real and Villarica, were utterly destroyed by them.

Defeated of their prey in this quarter, by the removal of the missions, the Mamelukes attacked and destroyed four new reductions, which had been formed by father Ranconnier, in the country of the Itatines, a mountainous region to the north-east of the Paraguay and lake Xarayes; the destruction of the Spanish city of Xeres soon followed; and from that time the Portuguese have claimed and possessed the mines of Cuyaba, and acquired a ready communication with the extensive territories of Matagrosso, to which the inroads of the Paulists first opened them an access.

The removal of the missions, however, relieved them but for a short time from the attacks of their inveterate foes; and, in 1633, their inroads extended beyond the Parana, and two or three years after threatened the banks of the Uruguay. Applications for assistance to the provincial governments were unavailing, for Don Martin de Ledesma, who, in 1636, had succeeded Cespedez in the government of Paraguay, appeared equally insensible with his predecessor to the claims either of policy or humanity; and, as a last resource, a deputation was sent by the Jesuits, to the court of Spain, to represent their situation. Hitherto, although, resistance had at times been made by the neophytes, under the conduct of their pastors, who, on those occasions, assumed a military character; yet, their Indian arms, which were all that they were allowed to possess, and their want of discipline and hardihood, rendered them wholly inadequate to withstand the fire-arms, and the martial and ferocious spirit of their invaders. But it now became the most serious object of the Jesuits to obtain permission from the court to put other weapons into the hands of their converts, and to marshal them in regular discipline, so that they might be enabled to repel their enemies by their own exertions. The policy of Spain had hitherto guarded with jealous care the introduction of fire-arms amongst the Indians, conscious that, to the superiority of their arms, the Spaniards were principally indebted for

the extent and permanence of their dominion. But the pressure of the necessity on this occasion was represented with such warmth of colouring, and urged with such persevering address, that, in 1639, the Jesuits obtained leave to embody and arm their neophytes in the European manner.

The fathers have been accused of greatly exaggerating the disasters suffered, and magnifying the dangers to be apprehended, in order to obtain this important privilege; one, without which it would have been impossible to accomplish those ambitious projects, which have been attributed to them, and the outline of which certainly seems to obtrude upon the observation of such as carefully inspect the veil with which the transactions of the society are covered. In this instance, however, the destruction of the Spanish cities on the frontiers of Brazil, certainly afforded ample grounds for the application; and the success of it wholly changed the face of affairs.

The neophytes under the conduct of the Jesuits, particularly of some lay-brothers, who had formerly been inured to a military life in Chili and Peru, soon became formidable in their turn to the Mamelukes; and, though the separation of Portugal from Spain, and the accession of the house of Braganza to the crown of the former, which occurred about this time, encreased the animosity of the Paulists to the Spaniards and to the neophytes, in a short time the Mamelukes found it dangerous to appear in the neighbour-

hood of the reductions. These establishments, therefore, now enjoyed a tranquillity, which soon reinstated them in, and encreased, their former prosperity. In 1642, their towns amounted to twenty-nine in the two provinces of Parana and Uruguay, and the form of their government had attained the perfection which has been described in glowing colours, both by the advocates and the enemies of the Jesuits; the former appretiating the merits of the missionaries by the excellent effect of their institutions; and the latter drawing inferences of their persevering and sinister ambition from their regularity and permanency. A short account of the principles of this celebrated patriarchal republic will not therefore here be misplaced.

The theocratical empire of the Jesuits, though nominally under the dominion of the crown of Spain, and paying a tribute, proportionate to the number of its subjects, was subordinate alone, in every point of political and internal economy, to the general of the order at Rome, and his provincials in America.

In each town there were two Jesuits, of whom the second was generally a missionary, newly arrived from Europe, or a young priest who had just finished his studies at the university of Cordova, acting as vicar under the parish-priest, who was the superior of the whole town. All were brothers of one community, with a superior of the missions at their head, who transmitted re-

gular advices to, and received his instructions from, the chiefs of the society in Europe.

Every town, like the cities of the Spaniards, was under a corregidor, regidores, and alcaldes. The corregidor was chosen by the Indians, with the approbation of the priests. The alcaldes were annually appointed by the regidores, and aided the corregidor in the maintenance of good order. No punishment, however, was carried into effect, without the priest being consulted; who, on finding the delinquent really guilty, delivered him up to be punished. This was generally by imprisonment for a certain number of days, to which fasting was sometimes added; and if the fault was very great, whipping was inflicted, which was the most severe chastisement used amongst them; for it is stated that such was the state of virtue and innocence in which the neophytes lived, under the spiritual guidance of the Jesuits, that no crimes deserving of a greater punishment were committed in the missions. A cacique likewise was appointed in every town, who attended principally to military affairs, and, together with his eldest son, was exempt from tribute.

In every town was an armoury, where the fire-arms, and other weapons used by the militia were deposited, under the charge of the Jesuits. All persons capable of bearing arms in the town were divided into companies, under proper officers, and were exercised in the management of their arms, on the evenings of every holiday, in the market-

place. The uniforms of the officers were splendid, richly laced with gold and silver, and embroidered with the device of their town. The magistrates had also magnificent habits of ceremony, to wear on occasions of solemnity.

Schools were established in every town for teaching reading, writing, dancing, and music; and the Indians were found to excel in whatever they undertook; the inclination and genius of every one being carefully consulted before they were forwarded in any particular branch of science. Many, who were destined to the minor services of the church, were taught the Latin tongue; but that of Spain was interdicted in their schools, either from the alleged fear of contamination by any communication with the profligate colonists, or from the wily policy of the fathers to keep their subjects completely separate from the Spaniards. In one of the courts of the house belonging to the priest in every town, were workshops for painters, sculptors, gilders, silversmiths, locksmiths, carpenters, weavers, watch-makers, and most other artificers. Here all worked for the benefit of the community, under the inspection of the priest-co-adjutor; and boys were instructed in those trades for which they appeared to have the greatest genius. Though they succeeded extremely well in all these arts, they discovered, it is said, no talent for invention; but possessed that of imitation in a superior degree. It was no easy matter to distinguish the crucifixes,

candlesticks, or other objects of art, which they manufactured, from the patterns by which they were made; and they have been known to imitate, upon bare inspection, the most admired organs, astronomical instruments, Turkey carpets, and other curious manufactures. Their taste for, and execution of, music has been much extolled, particularly the full and majestic melody, used in the solemn rites of religion.

Their churches were large and well built, and not inferior, in point of decoration, to the richest in Peru. Divine service was celebrated in them with the pomp and solemnity of cathedrals, and no circumstance of festivity or devotion was omitted, to attract and cement the attachment of the neophytes to the pageantry of the Catholic communion. Every house was taxed to produce a certain quantity of gunpowder, that a sufficient quantity of it might not be wanting, either on any political exigency, or for fireworks on holidays and anniversaries, which were punctually and ceremoniously observed.

An asylum for women of ill-fame was also established in every town, and for the support of this house, and also of orphans, and of those who by age, or other circumstances, were disabled from maintaining themselves, two days in the week were set apart, when the inhabitants of every village were obliged to cultivate a piece of ground, called *labor de la comunidad*; the surplus of the produce of which was applied to purchase furni-

ture and decorations for the churches. Every family had a piece of land assigned to them, sufficient to supply them with necessaries; besides which there were other grounds that belonged to the community, the produce of which was deposited in the public magazines, as a provision against bad crops, and other emergencies, and for the purchase of military stores, &c. the whole under the immediate and sole controul of the Jesuits.

The Jesuits likewise took upon themselves, the sole care of disposing of the manufactures and produce of the Indians designed for commerce; for their indolent and childish habits, it is said, would not allow them to be their own accountants or stewards; besides that it was the policy of their leaders, to reserve all external relations to themselves. That they might not be in want of necessaries, it was one part of the minister's care to have always in readiness a stock of all kinds of tools, clothes, and other necessaries, so that all who were in want might repair to him, bringing in exchange wax, honey, or other produce. This barter was made with the strictest integrity, and the high character of the priests for justice and sanctity was studiously preserved. The goods received in exchange were sent to the superior of the missions, and by him to the agents and factors of the society, in the neighbouring places of commercial resort, whilst with their produce a fresh stock of goods was laid in, and the surplus was applied to the

wants of the generality, or the enrichment of the churches.

The most laborious part of the duty belonging to the priests, was to visit personally the chacaras or plantations of the Indians; and in this they were remarkably sedulous, in order to prevent the evil consequences of that slothful disposition so natural to the Guaranis, who, were they not frequently roused and stimulated by the priests, would abandon their work, or perform it in a superficial manner. They also attended at the public shambles, where the flesh was dealt out by the priests, in lots proportioned to the number of individuals in each family.

The most exact police was established and maintained in this republic. All the inhabitants were required to be at home at a certain hour every evening; after which detachments, regularly relieving each other, patrolled the streets. Every town kept on foot a body of infantry, and another of cavalry. The infantry, besides their Indian arms, carried slings, swords, and musquets: the cavalry used sabres and lances; and likewise carbines, doing duty at times on foot like dragoons. All their small arms, and even their cannon, were made by themselves. A party of horse was always employed in scouring the country, and all the defiles by which strangers could penetrate into it were well guarded. The strictest precaution was used to prevent any communication with the exterior, except through the medium of their priests,

and they were kept completely isolated from the other Spanish settlements.

The Guaranis were for a long time nearly the only nation that composed this republic; next to them were the Tapés, who spoke the same language, and are probably of the same extraction. But there are few tribes between the Parana, the Uruguay, and Brazil, that have not supplied the reductions with recruits. Their country has already been described as fertile, and the climate as temperate. Productions of necessity and of luxury were raised in abundance; sugar, tobacco, grain, cotton, wax, honey, the herb of Paraguay, &c. were sources of comfort to the inhabitants, and advantageous articles of traffic to their governors. It might be supposed that a great increase of population would take place under these circumstances; and under the patriarchal theocracy just described, where, to use the language of its eulogists, no person was idle, nor any one overburthened with labour; where food was wholesome, abundant, and equally distributed; where all were conveniently lodged, and comfortably clothed; where the aged and infirm, the widows and orphans, were maintained by the community; where no monastic institutions (for celibacy was never inculcated or encouraged by the Jesuits amongst the neophytes), no sordid views of interest, or absurd restraints of pride, fettered the freedom of choice, or defiled the sanctity of marriage; where no factitious wants, or destructive

luxuries corrupted the human frame; where the benefits of trade were experienced, without the fatal contagion of its vices; where neither the practice nor the necessity of capital punishments existed; where neither tythes nor taxes were known; and where the devouring plague of forensic subtlety, oppression, and delay, was proscribed. Yet the population was far from being commensurate with these promising stamina of prosperity; and the numbers recorded for the payment of the tribute to Spain, were most disproportionately small. It is true that the Jesuits were suspected of making false returns, both from motives of avarice to save the tribute, and from reasons of cautious policy, that no alarm might be excited by the numerical consequence of their subjects; but it is said, that strict researches removed those suspicions, and acquitted the Jesuits of any deceit in this respect.

The ravages of the Mamelukes, and incessant warfare of the infidel Indians around them, retarded, in the early stages of their establishment, the increase of the missions; and the introduction of the small-pox, with the operation of other fatal epidemics, are assigned as sufficient causes for their stationary or retrograde population.

From the time the Indians of the missions were provided with fire-arms, they were not only able to repel their enemies, but were frequently called upon by the Spanish governors to aid them in distant enterprizes, and on difficult emergencies.

On these occasions they were always led by the Jesuits, who could not, agreeably to their stipulations with the court, refuse to lend the assistance of their subjects when required, but who took especial and incredible care, that they should have little communication with the Spanish soldiery and inhabitants. All military orders were communicated to the Indians through the Jesuits alone, who acted as interpreters, as commanders, and as priests; and always led them back to the reductions as speedily as possible after such excursions.

It was in 1639 that the reduction Indians were first called in aid of the Spanish government. Eighty neophytes, well armed and officered, assisted Don Pedro d'Avila, the governor of Rio de la Plata, to subdue a nest of renegadoes and fugitive Indians of various tribes who had established themselves on the islands of the lake Iberi, and had become formidable by their depredations. Their good conduct, on this occasion, induced the governors, both of Paraguay and of Rio de la Plata, to apply repeatedly, on any interior or external emergency, to the Jesuits for auxiliary bodies of the Indians under their controul; and they are stated in this way to have rendered the most important services to the colony.*

* It is related, amongst other instances, that in 1656, Buenos Ayres being threatened by the English, four hundred and fifty of the neophytes, coming to the assistance of the governor, and supplying him with boats to transport the troops that had been sent for to Corrientes, the enemy no sooner heard of the preparations made to receive them, than they relinquished their design.

The dissensions and animosities that now began to prevail in Paraguay, became the source of much contention between the Jesuits, the bishops, and the governors of Assumption. At one time the order was caressed and almost adored; at another expelled from their colleges with disgrace; sometimes the bishops appear to have favoured them, at others the reverse; the same occurred with respect to the governors; and it is impossible to dive into the chaos of clashing interests, and contradictory opinions, that prevailed during many succeeding years of tumult and confusion. Don Bernardin de Cardenas, appointed bishop of Assumption, appears to have been a great enemy of the Jesuits, and in 1643 planned the total subversion of their republic. With a violence and want of decorum, ill suited to his episcopal character, he subverted even the civil government at Assumption, and, through the weakness of the governor, encroached upon, and obtained nearly the complete command of, the civil and military jurisdiction of the province. He put himself at the head of a military power, and marched in hostile array against the reductions on the Parana, but was stopped in his career by a prompt measure of the governor, impelled into temporary activity by the urgency of the case, and by the orders of the royal audience of Chuquisaca. In 1645 this turbulent prelate was compelled to leave his diocese, but he soon found means to return again, and continued his machinations against the Jesuits,

who had become very obnoxious to the inhabitants of Assumption.

The principal matters of which the society was arraigned, were that they defrauded the crown of an immense revenue, appropriating the whole of what was derived from their establishments to their own benefit, excepting the paltry proportion they paid, as the tribute due from the Indians agreeably to their own returns; that they had discovered and worked, in the territory of the reductions, very rich gold-mines, but which they kept concealed, defrauding the crown of its fifth, and appropriating the whole of the produce to themselves; that they usurped all spiritual and temporal power; that by surreptitious representations they had obtained a royal cedulla, in virtue of which the Spaniards of Paraguay were deprived of whole tribes of Indians, who belonged to them by right of conquest, and ought to be divided in encomiendas; that they taught pernicious doctrines; revealed the secrets of confession; and alienated the Indians from the crown of Spain; with various other minor objects of complaint. There is no doubt that the enmity* and interested motives of the colonial Spaniards invented, or exaggerated, many of these imputations; and with respect to

* As an instance of the inveterate rancour with which the Spanish inhabitants viewed the Jesuits, it is related, that father Antonio Manquiano, was one day accosted in the street by a miscreant, who told him, he did not know what should hinder him from tearing out his heart to devour it.

the mines, which have been sought after with great diligence, both whilst the Jesuits were in possession of the country, and since their expulsion, it is asserted that none of any consequence exist: but it is no less certain that there was much foundation for the allegation of the ambitious views of independent empire which were attributed to them; as well as for that of pecuniary benefits derived to the order from the exclusive trade and resources of these provinces. Some of the most intelligent Spaniards have even rated the sums transmitted from the Jesuits of South America to their superiors in Europe, at an annual average of four millions of piastres, or nine hundred thousand pounds sterling.

On the sudden death of the governor in 1649, the bishop was proclaimed governor and captain-general by the populace; and one of the earliest measures of his authority was the forcible expulsion of the Jesuits from their college, whence they were sent to Corrientes under every circumstance of disgrace. On this occasion they availed of a singular privilege bestowed upon their society by a brief of pope Gregory XIII. by which, when greatly injured, they were empowered to appoint a judge-conservator for themselves, who was bound to examine their complaints in a summary manner, and to pronounce sentence in the name of the sovereign pontiff, whose delegate he became in virtue of his nomination. The restraints imposed upon the papal jurisdiction in America, however,

required that this brief should be received only conditionally, that the superior tribunals should allow the cause to be within the competence of a judge-conservator, and approve of the person elected to act in that quality.

Notwithstanding the superstitious veneration with which the Spaniards are devoted to the holy see, early precautions were taken against the introduction of the papal dominion in America; and Ferdinand solicited from Alexander VI. a grant to the crown of the tythes in all the new discovered countries which he obtained, on condition of his making provision for the religious instruction of the natives. Soon after Julius II. conferred on him, and his successors, the right of patronage, and the absolute disposal of all ecclesiastical benefices there. But these pontiffs, unacquainted with the value of what was demanded, bestowed those donations with an inconsiderate liberality, which their successors have often lamented, and wished to recall. In consequence of these grants, the Spanish monarchs became in effect the heads of the American church, and in them the administration of its revenues is vested. Papal bulls can not be admitted in America, until they have previously been examined and approved of by the council of the Indies; and both ecclesiastical and civil authority centre thus in the crown. It has been erroneously stated, however, that in consequence

no collision was known to exist between the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction; and that to this limitation of the pontifical power, singular and unexampled when the age and nation in which it was devised is considered, Spain was indebted for uniform tranquillity in her American dominions. On the contrary, acrimonious dissensions long prevailed in Paraguay and Tucuman between the civil and spiritual powers; and from the formidable revolt of Gonzales Pizarro in the fifteenth century, to the insurrections that are now supposed to be organizing under the auspices of Miranda in Terra Firma, civil commotions, popular ferment, or open rebellion, have been incessantly active in the Spanish South American dominions.

To return from this digression, the judge-conservator appointed by the Jesuits soon decided in their favour against the bishop-governor, who, however, contumaciously refused to submit to the orders sent from La Plata; and attempted to oppose, with a military force, the entrance of Don Sebastian de Leon, who had been appointed governor; but his resistance was ineffectual, and, after dispersing the episcopal troops, Don Sebastian entered the city without opposition. He found the prelate seated on his throne, in his episcopal habit, the crozier in one hand, and the staff of command in the other. This last he indignantly threw towards Don Sebastian, and, without uttering a word, retired to his pa-

lace. Cardenas at length obeyed his citation to appear before the royal audience of La Plata, where he arrived in 1651.

Tranquillity seems to have been pretty well restored in the subsequent years; but in 1660 it was interrupted by the revolt of the Indians held in encomiendas by the citizens of Assumption, who treated them with great inhumanity. This insurrection was so sudden and unexpected, that the governor of the province, Don Alonzo de Sarmiento, was obliged to retreat with a handful of soldiers into a country church, where he stood a siege, till a body of neophytes, that had been dispatched from the nearest reductions upon the intelligence reaching the missionaries, arrived to his relief; and with whose assistance the revolt was soon quelled.

The services of these Indians were not confined to military aid; but they likewise afforded much assistance in public works of various kinds; and always without receiving either wages or subsistence, nor even the expenses of their journies; the whole being defrayed by the Jesuits. The city of Santa Fé was rebuilt by them; they erected the fort of Tabati; and in 1668, and the following years, five hundred of them worked on the fortifications, the port, and the cathedral of Buenos Ayres. Notwithstanding, therefore, the slight tribute they paid to the crown, they have perhaps been justly considered as those of its American subjects from which it derived the greatest benefit.

CHAP. IX.

Portuguese colony of St. Sacrament established—Attacked and taken—Chiquito missions—Accession of the Bourbon family—Colony of St. Sacrament attempted to be re-established—Don Estevan de Urizar—Don Joseph de Antequera—Commo-tions at Assumption—Rebellion of Antequera—Don Bruno de Zabala opposes him—Intrigues of Antequera—He is arrested—New faction in Pa-raguay, under the name of Commune—Fernand Mumpo, a principal demagogue—Antequera ex-ecuted at Lima—Third expulsion of the Jesuits—Civil war—Bishop of Buenos Ayres made govern-or by the Commune—General Junto—Zabala defeats the rebels—Settlement of differences in Paraguay—Sequel of the history—Capture of Buenos Ayres by the English.

AFTER the insurrection of 1660, no material occurrence is recorded till the year 1679, when advice was received that the Portuguese of Rio Janeiro were fitting out fourteen vessels, and embarking troops, arms, ammunition, and every thing requisite for a grand establishment, which they projected on the northern shores of Rio de la Plata, under the command of Don Manuel de Lobo. Upon receipt of this intelligence, prepa-

rations were made to intercept or expel them, and Don Joseph de Garro, the governor of Rio de la Plata, dispatched a brigantine to visit all the creeks and shores on both sides the river below Buenos Ayres; but the commander, not imagining that the Portuguese would have the assurance to establish themselves so near the capital as the islands of San Gabriel, neglected to examine them. A few days after, some of the inhabitants going to cut wood in a little creek of the continent behind the largest of those islands, beheld to their surprise, some buildings newly finished. Making their report to the governor, he immediately sent an officer to inquire into this circumstance; who, on being conducted to the Portuguese commander, was greatly astonished to find himself in a regular fortress, mounted with cannon, provided with magazines, and containing labourers, materials, ammunition, and every thing requisite to build and defend a city; with four vessels riding at anchor, under the walls of the fort.

A summons was immediately sent to Lobo, to evacuate the territory of Spain; but he replied, that he was upon the territory of his master, the King of Portugal, where he would remain. In some discussions that followed, as to their respective limits, the Portuguese claimed the whole of the left bank of the Paraguay and Rio de la Plata; and even alleged, that the dominions of his most faithful majesty extended as far as the fron-

tiers of Peru, probably founding these pretensions upon the expedition of Alexis Garcia.

The Portuguese gave their settlement the name of the Colony of the Holy Sacrament, and laboured incessantly to fortify it; but were greatly disappointed at not receiving some promised reinforcements from Brazil. In the mean time, Garro, having received orders from the viceroy to attack the Portuguese, had collected a force of three hundred Spaniards, four thousand negroes, mulattoes, and encomiendas Indians, and a body of three thousand neophytes from the Parana and Uruguay reductions; and Don Antonio de Vera Muzica, who had the command of the siege, did not find much difficulty in surprising and storming the fort, with the loss of about thirty-six men. The Portuguese had about two hundred killed.

The destruction of this infant colony was highly resented by the court of Portugal, and was nearly the occasion of a rupture. In 1682, a convention, however, was entered into, by which the Portuguese were to be allowed a settlement there, provided that the property of the soil should remain vested in the crown of Spain, that no fort should be erected, that only fourteen Portuguese families should be allowed to reside there, that both the colony and the ships resorting to it should be liable to be visited by the governor of Buenos Ayres, and that the disputes as to the limits of the two crowns should be referred to the pope to be adjusted.

in conformity with the famous line of demarcation.*

The Portuguese thus having gained a footing on the shores of Rio de la Plata, improved that advantage to a great degree, by the contraband trade which it enabled them to carry on with the Spaniards of Buenos Ayres, and which soon became an object of jealousy and of alarm to metropolitan monopoly; the nature of this trade will be more particularly described hereafter.

The Mamelukes of Brazil, no longer able to commit depredations in Guayra, carried their excursions more to the north, and by degrees overspread the country with their ravages, till, in 1690, they attacked the Chiquito Indians, who, bordering on the province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, were now pressed on both sides. Of this circum-

* Upon the discovery of America by Columbus, Ferdinand applied to the Roman pontiff, who, as the vicar and representative of Jesus Christ, was supposed to have a right of dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth, for a grant of the western world. Alexander VI. by an act of liberality, which cost him nothing, but which served to establish the jurisdiction and pretensions of the papal see, conferred on the crown of Castile, regions of vast extent with whose situation he was unacquainted, and of whose existence even he was ignorant. As it was necessary to prevent this grant from interfering with that formerly made to the crown of Portugal, the pontiff appointed a line to be drawn from pole to pole, one hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores; and, in the plenitude of his power, he bestowed all to the east of this imaginary line upon the Portuguese, and all to the west of it upon the Spaniards.

stance, Don Augustus de la Concha took advantage, and prevailed on the Chiquitos to conclude a peace with the Spaniards, which was followed by their conversion to Christianity. In 1692, the Jesuits undertook the establishment of missions amongst them, and by the most ardent perseverance, founded a similar republic to that which had so long flourished under their auspices amongst the Guaranis.

This was, however, effected sorely against the wishes of the Spanish inhabitants of Santa Cruz, who carried on a traffic in slaves, accompanied by all the violence, the injustice, and the immorality, which invariably attends that nefarious trade. A slave-company had been established at Santa Cruz, by whom a band of adventurers were kept in pay to make inroads into the Indian country, for the capture of slaves. These they sent into Peru, where they were sold for the work of the mines, and other purposes. The great numbers, however, had so much reduced the price of them, that a woman and her child might be had for an ewe and her lamb. They well knew that the Jesuit-missionaries would not suffer their neophytes to be oppressed, and that they were not in want of proper means to insure them protection. Their establishment, therefore, was thwarted by all the means of fraud or force, that interested iniquity could employ; but in vain, for with the address and perseverance which distinguished their order, the Jesuits firmly seated

themselves amongst the Chiquitos; in 1696, three reductions were formed, and in about thirty years they had founded seven towns, each consisting of upwards of six hundred families.

Philip V. of the house of Bourbon, having now ascended the throne of Spain, became very apprehensive of an attack upon his South American possessions by the allies of the house of Austria, and directed the fortification of the various accessible points; whilst the Portuguese thought this a good opportunity to attempt the permanent re-establishment of their colony of St. Sacrament; and in 1705, they were found to have re-peopled it and fortified it, contrary to the convention which had been entered into on the subject. Looking upon this breach of engagement as sufficient authority, the Spanish provincial government immediately assembled a force, and besieged and took the place. On this occasion, as on the former one just recited, four thousand neophytes from the Parana and Uruguay reductions, are stated to have performed the most material services, and to have refused the sum of one hundred and eighty thousand piastres offered them by the governor of Rio de la Plata, being the amount of a real and a half per man per day, the rate at which the other Indians were paid when they took the field in aid of the Spaniards.

The dominion of Spain acquired considerable extension in the interior of the country, by the exertion of Don Estevan de Urizar, who was

governor of Tucuman, from 1705, till his death in 1724; an exception made in his favour to a rule which had now begun to be adopted of continuing the governors of the provinces subordinate to the viceroy of Peru, only five years in their dignities. The length and prosperity of his administration add confirmation to the character given of him by his encomiasts, as a man possessed of all the talents requisite to form a perfect general, an upright magistrate, and a true Christian.

In the course of the religious and military expeditions, undertaken by Urizar, various Indian nations, hitherto even unknown by name to the Spaniards, were reduced under their dominion, or brought within the pale of the church.

A scene of tumult and rebellion now occurred in Paraguay, which lasted for several years, and which though apparently arising from a circumstance of trivial import, may, with more propriety, be ascribed to the leaven left by the dissensions and insubordination that prevailed in the time of Cardenas.

The nomination, as governor of Paraguay, in 1717, of Don Diego de los Reyes, an Andalusian gentleman, settled at Assumption, where he was provincial alcalde, gave umbrage to many who, considering themselves as his superior, in point of birth, rank, and service, could not brook his elevation; and, although he was a man of courteous and affable demeanor, of strict honour, and of good connections in the province, it was even in con-

temptation to oppose his reception, on the ground of its being illegal for an inhabitant of the place to become its governor. Don Diego, however, entered upon the exercise of his authority, but, in a short time, found that intrigues were running so high, that he was obliged, to defeat a conspiracy formed against him, to imprison two of the principal men of the city. This produced a ferment, and a criminal prosecution against him before the royal audience of La Plata. Unhappily, the measure they pursued tended more to embroil matters. They appointed Don Joseph de Antequera y Castro, knight of Alcantara, a man of family, genius, and learning, but ambitious, deceitful, and intriguing, as judge-informer of Paraguay, with a dormant commission to succeed to the government at the end of the five years, when Don Diego's period should have expired.

On Antequera's arrival at Assumption, Don Diego was absent on a visit to the reductions on the Parana; and, a few days after, the Guyacurus approaching close to the capital, drew some Spaniards into an ambuscade. Antequera took advantage of this circumstance, to declaim on the evil government that allowed of the insults of the Indians, even in sight of the capital; and Don Diego's enemies having made an offer to acknowledge Antequera as governor, he accepted it, proclaimed his promotion, summoned a council, and entered upon the exercise of his new dignity without opposition.

A law is stated to have been in existence, by which a judge-informer was prohibited from succeeding a governor against whom he had informed; but it was in vain this law was represented to the council. The royal audience had overlooked it, and Antequera haughtily observed, that this law was not made for those, who, like him, had the honour of being members of that august tribunal.

On hearing the situation of affairs at Assumption, Don Diego returned thither, but was seized and confined, and his staff of command was wrested from him. A long process was instituted against him, and, at length, fearing an attempt upon his life, he evaded his guards and fled to Buenos Ayres, intending to proceed to Spain, in order to implore, in person, the justice of his royal master. In the mean time, the archbishop of Lima, viceroy of Peru, on learning these transactions, issued a new commission, dated 16th of February, 1722, re-instating the deposed governor, annulling the proceedings at Assumption, and ordering Antequera to quit the province immediately. Don Diego, therefore, abandoned his design of going to Spain, and, not supposing that Antequera would dare to oppose the viceroy's orders, expected to be quietly replaced in his government.

Antequera, however, had gone too far to recede, and depending upon the support of the royal audience, who on this subject were at variance with

the viceroy, attempted afresh, but without success, to seize Don Diego's person, who had advanced within twenty-five leagues of Assumption. He defended his resistance of the viceroy's orders by a casuistry not ill adapted to the manners and inclinations of his hearers. "It is certain," said he, "that in provinces so distant from court, it is lawful to make even three representations to his majesty before his orders are obeyed. Now, how much more allowable must this be in regard to the orders of a viceroy?"

The proceedings of Antequera are represented, as they might naturally be supposed to be in a man like him contemning the orders of his superiors, and trusting to time and good fortune for his maintenance in his government, as violent and tyrannic towards his opponents, indulgent and propitious to his adherents. The Jesuits came in for a considerable share of his jealousy and enmity; their republic in Paraguay jostled perhaps with his ambitious views, and he considered them as his rivals in the independent empire his subsequent actions shewed he contemplated to establish. At all events, he was fearful of the assistance Don Diego might gain from the Indians of the reductions; and all the old accusations against the society were assiduously revived and warmly pursued.

At variance with the viceroy, the royal audience in the mean time issued a decree on the 3d March, 1723, forbidding provisionally any alteration in the present government of Paraguay.

Antequera on this occasion undertook to prove, by another subtlety, that the decrees of the royal audience were superior to those of the viceroy, inasmuch as those of the former were given in the king's name, and began, *Don Philip, by the grace of God, &c.* whilst the edicts of the viceroy were in his own name, and began, *Don Fray Diego Marcillo, &c.* Subsequent orders from the viceroy were treated with equal contempt. Antequera openly avowed his resolution to maintain himself in his government in despite of all the dispatches he might receive from Lima; and it soon became evident that he aimed at the sovereignty of Paraguay.

To curb his ambition, without driving into open rebellion, a man of Antequera's influence, wealth, and talent, now became an object of great solicitude; and Don Balthazar Garcia Ros, the king's lieutenant at Buenos Ayres, and formerly governor of Paraguay, was entrusted with the delicate and important commission. Negotiation, however, was useless; Antequera passed the Rubicon, by sending an armed force under one of his trusty adherents, Ramon de las Llanas, to seize Don Diego at Corrientes, a town within the jurisdiction of the governor of Rio de la Plata, and where he considered himself in safety. He was carried to Assumption, thrown into a dungeon, and loaded with chains. Don Balthazar could only lament this outrage, as he had not then a sufficient force to attack Antequera in his own province.

During these transactions, Zabala, the governor of Rio de la Plata, who supposed that Don Balthazar was actually in possession of the province of Paraguay, sent to Assumption for assistance against the Portuguese who threatened the port of Montevideo, which had been surveyed and settled about this time, and was the only fort the Spaniards possessed on the eastern bank of the river, since Philip V. had, by the treaty of Utrecht, ceded the colony of the Holy Sacrament to Portugal. The court of Lisbon claimed, in consequence of this cession, the whole of the coast from the ancient limits of Brazil to St. Sacrament; but the court of Madrid, refusing to allow of this interpretation of the treaty, directed the port of Montevideo to be fortified in order to secure the navigation of the river. Antequera thought this a good opportunity to get rid of all those he suspected, and of shewing at the same time his zeal for the king's service, whose authority he had not yet openly disavowed; and he dispatched the succours required to Buenos Ayres.

In 1724, all pacific measures proving useless, Don Balthazar advanced at the head of two thousand of the reduction Indians, and the other provincial troops he could collect, against the rebels. The employment of the neophytes in this warfare so much irritated Antequera, that he immediately drove the Jesuits out of their college at Assumption, which was the second time they suffered that disaster. Antequera, at the head of

three thousand men, marched from Assumption, to encounter the king's army, leaving orders with Juan de Mena, the alguazil-major, an officer on whom he placed the greatest dependance, that, in case he was defeated, Don Diego de los Reyes should be publicly strangled, and that none of his relations should be permitted to survive. In answer to some overtures for negotiation, and the legal summons he received from Don Balthazar, Antequera haughtily replied, that he did not meet him in arms to read papers, but to decide their differences by battle. An engagement ensued, in which the royal troops were defeated with considerable slaughter, their general fled with precipitation, and about three hundred of the Indians were taken prisoners by the rebels.

Antequera entered Assumption with triumphal pomp. The royal standards taken in the battle were trailed before him on the ground, and he displayed his own colours in the cathedral, where a *Te Deum* was performed for his victory. He now wavered between an immediate avowal of his ultimate ambition, and a more temporizing system. Had he, in the moment of success, adopted the measure which afterwards formed one of the objects of accusation against him, that of usurping the sovereign government, under the title of Don Joseph I. king of Paraguay, the tide might have turned completely in his favour; but more cautious, or more timid, than became his dangerous and desperate situation, he still nominally

owned the sovereign authority, whose mandates he refused to obey, whose troops he had resisted, and whose insignia he had treated with ignominy.

In the interval, the ecclesiastic who had been nominated to the episcopal see of Paraguay, being detained in Spain by such habitual infirmities as never permitted him to see his diocese, Don Joseph Palos, of the order of St. Francis, and titular bishop of Tatillum in Mauritania, was appointed his co-adjutor at Assumption. This prelate, well adapted by his outward conciliatory manners and devout deportment, as well as by the intriguing address he possessed, for the undermining of Antequera's authority, repaired to Assumption, and was well received by him. Secret but effectual were the bishop's exertions to detach the populace from the usurper, and diminish the number of his adherents; and when Don Bruno de Zabala, who had been ordered by the viceroy to repair in person to Assumption, with a sufficient force to reduce the rebels, to send Antequera a prisoner to Lima, and to establish such a governor in Paraguay as circumstances required, arrived at Corrientes with eight hundred Spaniards and six thousand Indians, the bishop even ventured to publish a mandate excommunicating all those who should hinder the governor of Rio de la Plata from being received in the city.

Stunned with this blow, and with the defection, or lukewarmness of many of his friends, Antequera now sought safety in flight, accompanied by

a few of his staunchest adherents; and Zabala entered Assumption without opposition on the 24th of April 1725. The treasure which Antequera had amassed, and which is stated, in a letter from the co-adjutor to the king, to have been incredible for the short time of his usurpation, was seized by orders from the superior courts; tranquillity was quickly re-established in appearance, and Don Martin de Borua was left by Zabala in the undisputed possession of the government.

Antequera fled to Cordova, where he took refuge in a convent; but being outlawed, and a reward offered for his apprehension, he left that asylum, and proceeded through bye-roads to La Plata, where he hoped that the royal audience would espouse his quarrel. But the new viceroy of Peru, the marquis del Castel Fuerte, having curtailed the pretensions of that tribunal, he was thrown into prison at Lima, as was Juan de Mena, who had likewise repaired thither from Tucuman.

New commotions now took place at Assumption, where the administration of Borua, who was suspected of following Antequera's example, or of aiding his views, which appear even in prison to have been extended towards his re-establishment in Paraguay, had become obnoxious to the viceroy, and Don Ignatius Soroeta had been nominated to succeed him. One Fernand Mompo, who made his escape out of the prison in which Antequera was confined, repaired to Assumption, where,

from the recommendations given him by his fellow-prisoner, he obtained a municipal situation. Mompo was, or pretended to be, versed in the law, and with a boldness that raised him to popularity, and an eloquence suited to the turbulence of the times, he promulgated the levelling doctrines of the present age, and asserted as a maxim which had never been contradicted, that the authority of the people, or of the *commune*, as he expressed himself, was paramount even to that of the king himself. The sovereignty of the people, thus openly preached in the capital of a colony of one of the most despotic and bigoted courts of Europe, nearly two centuries ago, is a phenomenon in politics, which, it is believed, has escaped the researches of historians and of philosophers; but serves to shew that reiterated periods of popular ferment and anarchy will, in all cases, produce the same effects. “We must oppose,” said he, “the reception of this new governor in the name of the Commune, and then no one in particular can be called to account for it,” an expedient which, whilst it encouraged the sedition of the bold, soothed also the fears of the timid. Under the name of the Commune, therefore, a popular faction was formed, and assemblies held subversive of order, and destructive to the prosperity of the province.

These disorders commenced in 1730, and Borua having abdicated his government, whilst the Commune would not admit Soroeta, the province re-

mained some time without any head; the city was exposed to pillage by the partizans of the different factions; the bishop abandoned the place; and what little traces of authority were met with emanated from Mompo, the author and oracle of the Commune.

The Commune, however, now perceived that it was necessary to give their government some regular form; and they erected a junto or council, the president of which they resolved should be styled president of the province. To fill this station they appointed the first alcalde, Barreyro, who had hitherto appeared to favour their views. He proved himself, however, a loyal subject, and, with a view of restoring the province to order and subordination, found means to seize Mompo, and to convey him to Buenos Ayres. He was thence sent by Zabala to Lima, but was rescued on the way, and made his escape to Brazil. Barreyro now began to raise troops, which was done likewise by his opponents in the junto, but finding it impossible to maintain himself, he fled to the reductions, and Michael de Garai was appointed to succeed him as president of the junto in 1732.

All this time the proceedings against Antequera and his accomplices were going on at Lima, and after a confinement of upwards of five years, he was found guilty of high treason, and sentenced to be beheaded, together with Juan de Mena, which sentence was executed on the 5th of July 1731. So great, however, was the popular com-

motion, and the interest which Antequera had excited by his ingenious writings and voluminous memorials in justification or extenuation of his conduct, that the viceroy was himself obliged to take horse on the occasion; and to prevent the rescue of Antequera by the populace, he was shot, by the viceroy's orders, on his way to the scaffold, where his body was decapitated.

The execution of Antequera and Mena produced a great sensation at Assumption. Most of those who composed the Commune had been accomplices in the crimes which had brought them to the scaffold; and nothing was heard but encomiums on these two men, who were called victims of oppression, and were canonized as martyrs of liberty. The daughter of Juan de Mena had married Ramon de las Llanas, who was lately dead, and she was then in mourning for him; the day, however, that she heard of her father's death, she threw off her weeds, and appeared publicly in her richest apparel, declaring that it would be unbecoming in her to wear any marks of affliction after receiving the news of a death so gloriously suffered in the cause of her country and of freedom.

In a riot that occurred immediately after, the Jesuits were expelled, for the third time, from their college at Assumption; and, though an interdiction was laid on the city by the bishop, in consequence of the violences that had been committed, he was prevailed on to take it off again upon a threatened attack by the Guyacurus. The con-

tagion now spread to Corrientes, and a treaty of association was entered into, between that town and the Commune of Paraguay; the king's lieutenant at Corrientes was sent bound to Assumption, and they even sent deputies to Buenos Ayres, to acquaint the governor with what they had done, alleging it was for his majesty's interest, and that they had no doubt of his approving it, and confirming the new government they had established, in the name and by the authority of the Commune, as well as the officers they had chosen, and leaving the republic at liberty to depose them and put others in their places, when they should judge it requisite for his majesty's service.

During all this time, the Commune had troops on foot, which were encamped on the frontiers, and kept in check a body of neophytes, that lay in constant readiness to enter the province, or to defend the reductions in case the Commune should attempt to attack them, as had been repeatedly menaced. Preparations were likewise made for opposing the entrance of a new governor that had been appointed for Paraguay, Don Manuel de Ruiloba; but, overawed by the accumulation of the neophyte army, now amounting to upwards of seven thousand men, disunited amongst themselves, and tampered with by the address of the bishop, the Commune, at length, gave way, and Don Manuel entered Assumption, in July 1733. Short, however, was the deceitful tranquillity

which ensued; the discontents occasioned by the principal heads of the Commune being deprived of all places of trust and emolument, soon degenerated into open revolt, and Don Manuel, who could only muster about three hundred men, and was even abandoned by most of them at the crisis, was dragged from his horse, and murdered by the rebels, on the 15th of September, in the same year.

The bishop of Buenos Ayres, a man of a turbulent and factious disposition, and who had come to Assumption to be consecrated by the bishop of Paraguay, had greatly ingratiated himself with the chiefs of the Commune; and he was chosen governor of the province by them, of which office he accepted. The name of Commune was now changed into that of *General Junta*, and the chief of it was invested with the title of Defender. The first to whom this title was given, was Don Juan Ortiz de Vergara, who engaged the faction to take various steps, which they had not hitherto had courage to venture upon; such as the confiscation of the property, and the imprisonment of the persons, of all who disavowed or disputed the authority of the General Junta. The bishop-governor wished to check the impetuosity of their career, but he found his authority too weak. In fact, they only acknowledged him as governor when they wanted his countenance, or to corroborate their edicts, which they generally presented to him ready drawn up, and obliged him to sign

them. The conduct of this prelate greatly scandalized the clergy, in thus leaving his own ecclesiastical charge, and making himself the chief of a party who were in rebellion against their sovereign, in the diocese of another.

The bishop of Paraguay endeavoured, with his accustomed address, to stem the torrent of the revolutionary faction, in which there were now few noblemen left, the populace having got the upper hand in all the deliberations, and aiming to establish a democratical government, in which ignorance and insolence were the only rules of conduct, or titles to command. He succeeded in representing to the bishop-governor, his incongruous conduct, and, detaching him from the cause he was engaged in, prevailed on him to withdraw from Assumption, and repair to his own diocese. Zabala, on his side, prepared for offensive operations: and, in the beginning of 1735, advanced against the rebels, with the troops he could muster, consisting principally of neophytes. The Junto, on their side, notwithstanding that the Defender had just died, that many intestine divisions prevailed amongst themselves, and that the bishop had the courage to excommunicate them and their adherents, prepared for a vigorous resistance. At Tabati, an engagement took place, in which the troops of the Junto were entirely defeated, with the loss of their artillery, ammunition, and baggage, and their principal leaders were amongst the prisoners. This blow crushed the rebellion,

and shortly after, four others of their chiefs were surrendered to Zabala, who had offered five thousand piastres for their apprehension ; two only of the leaders made their escape, taking refuge amongst the hostile Indians, and thence getting into Brazil. The prisoners were tried, some of them executed, and others banished to Chili.

Zabala proceeded to tranquillize the province, to re-establish order, and to correct the abuses, and restrain the enormities, which had crept into existence, ever since the time when Antequera first made his appearance at Assumption, with a sedateness and dispatch, which caused general astonishment. The Jesuits were, of course, reinstated with honour in their college, and the services and fidelity of the reduction Indians, in all these civil dissensions were highly extolled, and warmly acknowledged.

A short time after this, a squadron arrived from Spain at Buenos Ayres, in order to assist at the reduction of the Portuguese colony of St. Sacrament. Zabala went thither for the same purpose ; but, after a siege of four months, the Spaniards were compelled to retire with loss, and the Portuguese continued in possession of the place. It is probable, that the mutual advantages which the colonists of both nations enjoyed, by this convenient entrepot for their contraband trade, may have paralyzed the efforts of the provincials. Zabala died, in 1737, at Buenos Ayres.

Endeavours were made, in 1738, to civilize and convert the Indians of Chaco, who had committed great ravages in the Spanish settlements ; and ex-

peditions were undertaken in the interior, with various success. An easier communication between Peru and Paraguay was tried to be established, by means of the Pilcomayo, but did not succeed, owing to the total failure, in 1740, of the water in that river; and, in the same year, the Portuguese were found to have penetrated across the upper part of the Paraguay, very nearly to the confines of Peru, where they carried on a clandestine trade, or made excursions for the carrying off of slaves. The discovery of the extent and nature of these expeditions was made by the Jesuits of the Chiquito reductions, which had assumed a respectable form, and had been constituted into a republic, similar to that on the banks of the Parana and Uruguay. In 1732, they consisted of seven towns, each containing six hundred families; and in 1746, the dominion of Spain was equally acknowledged by these reductions, by the payment of an annual tribute, in the same manner as the others. The rudiments of another republic, of the same nature, appear about this time to have been cast amongst the Moxos; and an attempt was made of the like kind amongst the tribes of Indians south of Buenos Ayres. The Jesuits appear to have had in view the confederation and consolidation of all these states, which would, no doubt, had time been allowed them to perfect their plan, have acquired a degree of importance, commensurate with the grand objects of philanthropy, or of ambition, which the society are supposed to have had in view.

But, alarmed at the number, extent, and importance of these establishments, jealous of their prosperity, and exasperated at the subduction from their sway of so many Indians, whom they considered as their property, the Spanish colonists incessantly laboured to discredit the Jesuits and their neophytes at the court of Madrid. Accusations were heaped on accusations, and though the Jesuits, with their wonted address, parried most of these attacks, and either solidly refuted, or sophistically evaded, the aspersions thus cast upon them, the slight impressions that were made in the commencement were, by degrees, strengthened, and, at length, produced the catastrophe of the total abrogation of their society. In the justificatory memorial of father d'Aguilar, drawn up in 1738, from which Muratori framed his *Christianesimo felice*, a tone of menace is observable, but ill concealed beneath the garb of humility and obedience it assumes. If the neophytes, he remarks, be driven to revolt, the evil would be as incurable as easily occasioned; and he insinuates that the remaining Spanish settlements would be in the greatest danger from a very considerable well armed and well disciplined force, of whom the turbulent and ferocious Mamelukes stood in awe, and who had measured their strength with the best Spanish and Portuguese colonial troops. The storm, however, blew over for the present, and in 1745, a royal decree confirmed them in all their rights and immunities. In that year, a calamity

is recorded to have occurred in the reductions of the Parana, which threatened their total destruction. Severe frosts, such as had not been known in the memory of man, with showers of hail equally unusual, followed by swarms of locusts, destroyed almost every production of the earth; whilst, on the Uruguay, an unprecedented drought reduced the reductions in that quarter to the same distressful situation; and the famine which followed would have been severely felt, but for the providence of the Jesuits, the wisdom of whose institutions were so apparent in this calamity, that the necessaries of life were distributed from their public stores in quantities adequate to the support of the inhabitants. The number of the neophytes in this province, at the close of the year 1745, is stated to have been 87,240.

The attempts to civilize and convert the southern Indians, known by the Spaniards under the general name of *Pampas*, though subdivided into many distinct tribes, were begun in 1740, when a number of them were united, under two missionaries in a reduction called Concepcion, a little to the south-east of Buenos Ayres. The vicinity of this city proved, however, highly inimical to the establishment; and the passion for spirituous liquors, which prevailed amongst these Indians, found ready means of gratification, and retarded their advancement to the same degree of civilization as was observable amongst the Guaranis and Chiquitos.

The Puelches and Moluchés, the principal tribes of those Indians, acknowledged, in some measure, the authority of a cacique, resident at Huechin, on the great river of the south, Rio Negro, whose policy it was to maintain peace with the Spaniards, that his people might hunt with security in the vast plains of Buenos Ayres, between the frontiers of Matanza, Conchas, Magdalena, and the mountains. On the other hand, those tribes that reside amongst the mountains, on the west, were generally at war; and, in 1738, the Spaniards, in the course of their hostilities, attacked, without discrimination, all the Indians they met with. A nephew of the great cacique of Huechin, who had always been on friendly terms with the Spaniards, was killed by them, and other enormities committed, which so exasperated the Puelches and Moluches, that they all took arms against the Spaniards, who found themselves attacked at once from the vicinity of Cordova and Santa Fé, down the whole length of the Plata, on a frontier of three hundred miles; and, in such a manner, that it was impracticable to defend themselves; for the Indians fell, in small flying parties, on many villages and estancias at the same time, and generally in the night. Cacapol, the Huechin cacique, took the field at the head of four thousand men, and fell upon the district of Magdalen, only twelve miles from Buenos Ayres, and scoured and depopulated in one day and a night, about forty miles of a most populous and plenti-

ful country. They killed many Spaniards, and took a great number of women and children captives, with above twenty thousand head of cattle. In the following year, Cangapol,* the son of the veteran cacique, just mentioned, surnamed, by the Spaniards, the *cacique Bravo*, attacked them again; but, at length, through the mediation of his sister, who had been converted to Christianity, and resided amongst the neophytes at Conception, a pacification was brought about, accompanied by a mutual restoration of prisoners. A boundary-line was fixed upon for the respective territories of the Spaniards and Indians; and the settlement remained unmolested by them, till the year 1767, when, upon some fresh provocation, hostilities were recommenced, many Spaniards were carried away into captivity, and much damage was done to the country. Peace, however, was again speedily re-established, and it is not known to have been interrupted ever since.

The establishment of the Portuguese at St. Sacrament continued to be the occasion of much dissention between the courts of Madrid

* The portrait of this cacique, and of his wife, is given as a specimen of the appearance and dress of the Indians. It is taken from a drawing made from life, by Thomas Falkner, an English Jesuit, who resided many years as a missionary in that country, and published an account of it, under the title of "A description of Patagonia," which is replete with information. Cangapol was upwards of seven feet in height.

and of Lisbon. The former saw with pain the contraband trade which was carried on there: the Portuguese imported from Rio Janeiro, and furnished to Buenos Ayres, negro slaves, wines, brandies, tobacco, and various European commodities, and received provisions, hides, salted and jerked beef, and above all, silver, in return. Part of the treasures of Peru were thus diverted from the Spanish commerce, and the evil effects of this trade became every day more apparent in the diminution of that between Buenos Ayres and Spain. At length, after continual discussions, and unvarying bickerings, a convention was entered into at Madrid in 1750, by which Portugal ceded to Spain the colony of St. Sacrament, and her claim to the whole of the northern shore of Rio de la Plata, and Spain gave up to Portugal, seven of the Guaraní reductions, situated on the eastern side of the Uruguay, with the territory belonging to them.

This arrangement was censured in both countries, and the Jesuits felt great repugnance to have their dominions thus dismembered, and disposed of without their concurrence. The execution of this treaty, hence, became, in America, a matter of difficulty. The Guaranis had not been subjugated; they had voluntarily submitted to Spain; and they did not suppose that they had bestowed upon Spain a right to give them away. Without having deeply studied the subtleties of politics, or the law of nations, they probably thought themselves

the best judges of what was most conducive to their own happiness, and their hatred of the Portuguese name, in consequence of what they had suffered from their Brazilian neighbours, was sufficient to inspire them with an invincible repugnance to be incorporated with them. They took up arms in defence of their rights, and were not dismayed by the united standards of Spain and of Portugal displayed against them.

A cautious veil has been thrown over these transactions, and though it is certain that the Guaranis were at length subdued, they resisted, for several years, the efforts of both the Spanish and Portuguese colonial soldiers that were sent against them, nor yielded but to repeated supplies of fresh troops from Europe. That the Jesuits encouraged, and even headed this resistance, has been both alleged and denied. The probability is, that they secretly aided, though they openly disavowed it. It is certain that one of their order, father Nicholas de Leuco, maintained for a great part of this period, an independent authority there, and it was even rumoured that he had assumed the title of king of Paraguay by the style of Don Nicholas I. But his efforts were not acknowledged by the chiefs of the society of Europe; and the Guaranis having been defeated in some decisive actions about the year 1759, they determined to abandon their country; to carry with them all they could; set fire to the remainder; and leave nothing but a desert to their enemies.

They carried this resolution partly into effect, and though by their dispersion, the Portuguese were put in possession of the country, the colony of St. Sacrament was refused to be delivered up to the Spaniards, on the ground that the inhabitants of Uruguay were dispersed, not subdued, and that unless they were fixed in some other part, they would always be ready to fall upon a territory, to which they gave a decided preference. In consequence of these difficulties, it was in fine reciprocally determined to annul the convention of 1750, so that in 1761 things returned again to their ancient footing.

But the prosperity of the reductions was now fled, and the proscription of the Jesuits, which soon followed, gave a mortal blow to them. In the course of the prosecutions that were carried on against their society in Portugal and in France, the volumes of their institutes were produced. By these authentic records, the principles of their government were discovered, and the sources of their power investigated, with a degree of certainty, which, previously to that period, it was impossible to attain. They were expelled from Portugal in 1759, from France in 1764, from Spain and Naples in 1767, and their society was totally abolished in 1773, by pope Clement XIV.

Their expulsion from Spain was of course followed by the complete subversion of their empire in Paraguay; where, overwhelmed by the disgrace

of their order in Europe, they made no resistance; and their missions were quietly changed into regular Spanish settlements, whilst the spiritual care of the Indians was confided to the monks of St. Dominic, St. Francis, and the order of Mercy. Notwithstanding the distractions that had, for several years, prevailed in the reductions, their prosperity at the time of the final expulsion of the Jesuits, may be in some measure estimated by the number of cattle which are recorded to have been found in them, viz. 769,353 head of horned cattle, 94,983 horses, and 221,537 sheep.

Of the actual state of that part of Paraguay which constituted this celebrated republic, little is known. Border-hostilities between the Portuguese of Brazil and the Spanish Indians, continued to exist, at times tolerated, at times checked, and at times openly encouraged, by the respective governments. In the beginning of 1778, the Portuguese gave up finally to Spain, the colony of St. Sacrament, receiving back, however, by the same treaty, the territory and port of San Pedro, which had been wrested from them upon the stale pretence of the line of demarcation, together with an increase of their Brazilian territory along the sea-coast to its present limit, as already described.

The difficulties, as well as the dangers, attendant upon the wide extension of the vice-royalty of Peru, had been long felt. Occasion has been elsewhere taken to expatiate upon them, and it is

only necessary here to state, that the separation of the provinces of Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Tucuman, Los Charcas, and Cuyo, from the vice-royalty of Peru, in 1778, and their erection into a separate vice-royalty, of which Buenos Ayres is the capital, was found most essentially conducive to the prosperity and tranquillity of the country, and to the advantage of the parent-state. An extensive insurrection amongst the Indians of Los Charcas and Peru, which occurred in 1779, is the only event of prominent importance that occurs in the colonial annals; no details of this rebellion have appeared in Europe; but it was attended by great ravages, and quelled with considerable difficulty. Amongst the Guarani reductions, or presidencies, as they are now called, a spirit of disaffection is stated to have lately appeared, and in 1798 to have broken out with considerable violence, but the extent and termination of the insurrection has been kept secret.

The introduction, or alteration, of commercial regulations with respect to this colony, as they occurred from time to time, will find another place, and have not therefore been noticed in this historical sketch, to complete which nothing now remains but to give an account of the capture of Buenos Ayres by Sir Home Popham and General Beresford; which cannot be better done than in the words of those commanders, as published in the London Gazette, as follows;

London Gazette Extraordinary, Sept. 13, 1806.

Extracts of dispatches from Commodore Sir Home Popham, and Major-General W. C. Beresford.

Narcissus, off Buenos Ayres,

SIR,

July 6, 1806.

IN the letter which I had the honour to address you from St. Helena on the 30th of April, I fully explained, for the information of my lords commissioners of the Admiralty, the motives that induced me to press so strongly the urgency and expediency of undertaking an expedition against the enemy's settlements in the Rio de la Plata.

I have therefore only to give you a short detail of the proceedings of the squadron; previously congratulating their lordships on his majesty's forces being in full possession of Buenos Ayres and its dependencies; the capital of one of the richest and most extensive provinces of South America.

To the commerce of Great Britain it exhibits peculiar advantages, as well as to the active industry of her manufacturing towns. And when I venture in addition to assure their lordships of the extreme healthiness of the climate, I trust I only hold out a consolation that the friends of every person employed on this expedition are justly entitled to, and which I am satisfied will be equally gratifying to the feelings of every British subject.

As I considered it an object of material consequence to obtain the earliest local information in the river, I placed the squadron under the direction of captain Rowley on the 27th of May, and preceded it in the *Narcissus* for that purpose.

On the 8th ult. we anchored near the island of Flores; and, after passing Montevideo the following day, we detained a Portuguese schooner, by whom the intelligence we had formerly received was generally confirmed. On the 11th we fell in with the *Encounter* and *Ocean* transport, near the south coast of the river; and on the 13th we joined the squadron.

It was immediately determined to attack the capital; and no time was lost in removing the marine battalion to the *Narcissus*, the *Encounter*, and the transports, for the purpose of proceeding to Buenos Ayres, while the *Diadem* blockaded the port of Montevideo, and the *Raisnable*, and *Diomedé*, by way of demonstration, cruised near Maldonado and other assailable points.

Our progress up the river was very much retarded by the shoalness of the water, adverse winds, and currents, continual fogs, and the great inaccuracy of the charts; but by the unremitting, and laborious exertions of the officers and men I had the honour to command, these difficulties were surmounted, and the squadron anchored on the afternoon of the 25th off Point

Quelmeý à Pouichin, about twelve miles from Buenos Ayres.

As it was impossible for the *Narcissus* to approach the shore, on account of the shoalness of the water, the *Encounter* was run in so close as to take the ground, the more effectually to cover the debarkation of the army in case of necessity: the whole, however, was landed in the course of the evening without the least opposition; consisting of the detachment of his Majesty's troops from the Cape, and that from St. Helena, with the marine battalion under the orders of captain King, of his majesty's ship the *Diadem*, which was composed of the marines of the squadron, augmented by the incorporation of some seamen, and three companies of royal blues from the same source of enterprize, which had been regularly trained for that duty, and dressed in an appropriate uniform.

The enemy was posted at the village of Reduction, which was on an eminence about two miles from the beach, with the appearance of a fine plain between the two armies, which, however, proved on the following morning to be only a morass in a high state of verdure.

This in some measure checked our advancement, nor did the enemy open his field train till the troops were nearly in the middle of the swamp, from whence he thought it was impossible for them to be extricated.

The able and excellent disposition of general

Beresford, and the intrepidity of his army, very soon, however, satisfied the enemy, that his only safety was in a precipitate retreat, for we had the satisfaction of seeing from the ships near four thousand Spanish cavalry flying in every direction, leaving their artillery behind them, while our troops were ascending the hill with that coolness and courage, which has on every occasion marked the character of a British soldier, and has been exemplified in proportion to the difficulties and dangers by which he was opposed.

I have probably trepassed on a line that does not immediately belong to me, but I could not resist the gratification of relating to their lordships what I saw; assuring myself, at the same time, they will be convinced, if the enemy had given the squadron an equal opportunity, I should have had the pleasing duty of reporting an honorable issue to the effect of their eminent zeal and exertions.

On the 27th, in the morning, we saw some firing near the banks of the river Chuelo, but it blew so hard that it was totally impracticable to have any communication with the shore during that day.

Early on the 28th, a royal salute was fired from the castle of Buenos Ayres, in honour of his majesty's colours being hoisted in South America, and instantly returned by the ships lying off the town.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HOME POPHAM.

I have sent lieutenant Groves to take possession of Ensenaba de Barragon, a port to the eastward of Buenos Ayres, where I understand there are two gun-vessels and two merchant ships. H. P.

Fort of Buenos Ayres, July 2, 1806.

The fleet sailed from St. Helena the 2d of May, and after a most unexpected long passage, made Cape St. Mary on the 8th of June: his majesty's ship *Narcissus* had been dispatched from the fleet on the 27th of May, and Sir Home Popham thought it right to proceed in her for the purpose of making himself acquainted with the navigation of the river, that no delay might occur in proceeding immediately on the arrival of the troops to such place as our information should induce us first to attack. I had sent captain Kennet, of the royal engineers (not liking myself to leave the troops) in the *Narcissus*, to make such reconnoitring of the enemy's places on the river as circumstances would admit: and to collect every possible information concerning them, and the strength of the enemy at the several places.

From fogs and baffling winds we did not meet the *Narcissus* until the sixth day after our arrival in the river, and I had there the satisfaction to see, in company with her, the *Ocean* transport, which had parted from us previous to our going to St. Helena. Sir Home Popham and myself immediately consulted whether it

would be better first to attack the town of St. Philip of Montevideo, or Buenos Ayres, the capital of the provinces; and after much reasoning, we determined to proceed against Buenos Ayres, which made it necessary to remove from the line of battle ships, the troops and marines, and such seamen as were incorporated with the latter, and others that had been practised to arms during the passage, into the transports, and his majesty's ship *Narcissus*, which was effected on the 16th ult. and though then only about ninety miles from Buenos Ayres; still, though to his skill Sir Home Popham added the most persevering zeal and assiduity, yet from fogs, the intricacy of the navigation, and continual opposing winds, it was not until the 24th at night, that we reached opposite to it. We found ourselves the next morning about eight miles from the point of Quilmes, where I proposed landing, having been informed by an Englishman, who was pilot for the river, and who had been taken by the *Narcissus* out of a Portuguese vessel, that it was an excellent place, and an easy access from it into the country. As soon as the wind would permit, on the 25th Sir Home Popham took the shipping as near as it was possible for them to go; and at a convenient distance for disembarking, which was effected in the course of the afternoon and night, and without any opposition: the enemy remaining at the village of Reduction, on a height

about two miles from us in our front : the whole intermediate space, as well as to the right and left, being a perfect flat ; but my guide informed me, that though in winter it was impassable, it was then very practicable, and easy for guns to pass.

It was eleven o'clock in the morning of the 26th before I could move off my ground, and the enemy could, from his position, have counted every man I had.* He was drawn up along the brow of a hill, on which was the village of Reduction, which covered his right flank, and his force consisted principally of cavalry, (I have been since informed two thousand), with eight field-pieces. The nature of the ground was such, that I was under the necessity of going directly to his front ; and to make my line, as much as I could, equal to his, I formed all the troops into one line, except the St. Helena infantry, of one hundred and fifty men, which I formed one hundred and twenty yards in the rear, with two field-pieces, with orders to make face to the right or left, as either of our flanks should be threatened by his cavalry ; I had two six-pounders on each flank, and two howitzers, in the centre of the first line. In this order I advanced against the enemy, and after we had got within range of his guns, a tongue of swamp crossed our front, and obliged me to

* It appears there were in all 1641, including officers.

halt whilst the guns took a small circuit to cross, and which was scarcely performed when the enemy opened their field pieces on us, at first well pointed, but as we advanced at a very quick rate, in spite of the boggy ground, that very soon obliged us to leave all our guns behind, his fire did us but little injury. The 71st regiment reaching the bottom of the heights in a pretty good line, seconded by the marine battalion, the enemy would not wait their nearer approach, but retired from the brow of the hill, which our troops gaining, and commencing a fire of small arms, he fled with precipitation, leaving to us four field-pieces and one tumbril, and we saw nothing more of him that day.

I halted two hours on the field to rest the troops, and to make arrangements for taking with us the enemy's guns and our own, which had now, by the exertions of captain Donelly, of his majesty's ship *Narcissus*, been extricated from the bog. He had accidentally landed, and accompanied the troops, on seeing them advance to the enemy, and I am much indebted to him for his voluntary assistance.

I then marched in hopes of preventing the destruction of the bridge over the *Rio Chuelo*, a river at this season of the year not fordable, and which lay between us and the city; distant from it about three miles, and eight from our then situation; and though I used every diligence, I had the mortification to see it in flames

long before I could reach it. I halted the troops for the night a mile from it, and pushed on three companies of the 71st, under lieutenant-colonel Pack, with two howitzers, to the bridge, to endeavour to prevent its total destruction. I accompanied this detachment, but on reaching the bridge found it entirely consumed; and as the enemy during the night was heard bringing down guns, I withdrew the detachment before light, as their position was thought too open and exposed to the enemy's fire, who had at nine o'clock, on hearing some of our soldiers go to the river to get water, opened a fire from their guns, and a considerable line of infantry.

As soon as it was light I sent captain Kennet of the engineers to reconnoitre the sides of the river, and found that on our side we had little or no cover to protect us, whilst the enemy were drawn up behind hedges, houses, and in the shipping on the opposite bank, the river not thirty yards wide. As our situation and circumstance could not admit of the least delay, I determined to force the passage, and for that purpose ordered down the field pieces, which, with the addition of those taken from the enemy the day before, were eleven (one I had spiked and left, not being able to bring it off), to the water's edge, and ordered the infantry to remain in the rear, under cover, except the light company and grenadiers of the 71st. As our guns

approached, the enemy opened a very ill-directed fire from great guns and musquetry; the former soon ceased after our fire opened, the latter was kept up for more than half an hour, but though close to us, did us but little or no injury, so ill was it directed. We then found means, by boats and rafts, to cross a few men over the Rio Chuelo, and on ordering all fire to cease, the little of them that remained ceased also.

The troops which had opposed us during these two days appear to have been almost entirely provincial, with a considerable proportion of veteran officers. The numbers that were assembled to dispute our passage of the river, I have been since informed, were about two thousand infantry. I had no reason from their fire to suppose their numbers so great; the opposition was very feeble; the only difficulty was the crossing the river to get at them.

By eleven o'clock A. M. I had got some guns and the greatest part of the troops across the river, and seeing no symptoms of further opposition, and learning that the troops in general had deserted the city, motives of humanity induced me to send, by the honorable ensign Gordon, a summons to the governor to deliver to me the city and fortress, that the excesses and calamities which would most probably occur if the troops entered in a hostile manner might be avoided; informing him that the British character would insure to them the exercise of their

religion, and protection to their persons and all private property. He returned to me an officer to ask some hours to draw up conditions: but I could not consent to delay my march, which I commenced as soon as the whole had crossed the Rio Chuelo; and, on arriving near the city, an officer from the governor again met me with a number of conditions to which I had not then time to attend; but said I would confirm by writing what I had promised, when in possession of the city; and the terms granted and signed by Sir Home Popham and myself I have the honour to annex.*

** Terms granted to the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres and its dependencies, by the commanders in chief of his Britannic Majesty's forces by land and sea.*

Art. I. The troops belonging to his Catholic majesty, who were in the town at the time of the entry of the British troops, shall be allowed to meet in the fortress of Buenos Ayres, march out of the fort with all the honours of war, and shall then lay down their arms and become prisoners of war; but such officers as are natives of South America, or married with natives of the country, or regularly domiciliated, shall be at liberty to continue here so long as they behave themselves as becometh good subjects and citizens, taking the oath of allegiance to his Britannic majesty, or proceed to Great Britain with regular passports, having previously passed their parole of honour, not to serve until they are regularly exchanged.

Art. II. All bona fide private property, whether belonging to the civil or military servants of the late government; to the magistrates, burgers, and inhabitants of the town of Buenos Ayres, and its dependencies; to the illustrious the bishop, the clergy; to the churches, monasteries, colleges, foundations, and other

I also transmit a return of the killed, wounded,

public institutions of that kind, shall remain free and unmolested.

Art. III. All persons of every description belonging to this city and its dependencies, shall receive every protection from the British government, and they shall not be obliged to bear arms against his Catholic majesty; nor shall any person whatever in the city or its dependencies take up arms, or otherwise act inimically to his majesty's troops or government.

Art. IV. The cabildo, magistrates, burghers, and inhabitants, shall preserve all their rights and privileges which they have enjoyed hitherto, and shall continue in full and free exercise of their legal functions, both civil and criminal, under all the respect and protection that can be afforded them by his majesty's government, until his majesty's pleasure is known.

Art. V. The public archives of the town shall receive every protection from his Britannic majesty's government.

Art. VI. The different taxes and duties levied by the magistrates to remain for the present, and to be collected by them in the same manner, and applied to the same purposes as heretofore, for the general good of the city, until his majesty's pleasure is known.

Art. VII. Every protection shall be given to the full and free exercise of the holy Catholic religion, and all respect shewn to the most illustrious the bishop and all the holy clergy.

Art. VIII. The ecclesiastical court shall continue in the full and free exercise of all its functions, to be precisely on the same footing as it was heretofore.

Art. IX. The coasting vessels in the river will be given up to their owners, according to a proclamation issued the 30th ult.

Art. X. All public property of every description belonging to the enemies of his Britannic majesty shall be faithfully delivered up to the captors; and as the commanders in chief bind themselves to see the fulfilment of all the preceding articles for the benefit of South America, so do the cabildo and magistrates bind

and missing on the 26th and 27th of June,* as well as the return of the ordnance taken.†

themselves to see that this last article is faithfully and honourably complied with.

Given under our hands and seals, in the fortress of Buenos Ayres, this 2d day of July, 1806.

(Signed) W. C. BERESFORD, maj. gen.

(Signed) HOME POPHAM, commodore,
commanding in chief.

(Signed) JOSEPH IGN. DE LA QUIN-
TANA, governor, and brigadier
of dragoons.

* *Return of the killed, wounded, and missing of the troops under the command of major-general Beresford, on the 26th and 27th June, 1806.*

St. Helena artillery.—1 rank and file wounded.

71st reg.—1 officer, 1 serjeant, 5 rank and file wounded.

St. Helena infantry.—1 rank and file wounded; 1 officer missing.

Royal marines.—3 rank and file wounded.

Corps of seamen.—1 rank and file killed.

Names of officers wounded and missing.

Captain Le Blanc, of the 71st regiment, shot in the leg; since amputated above the knee.

Assistant-surgeon Halliday, of the medical staff attached to St. Helena regiment, missing.

Castle of Buenos Ayres, 5th July, 1806.

† *Return of ordnance, ammunition, and arms, captured at Buenos Ayres, and its dependencies, viz.*

Iron ordnance.—7 eighteen-pounders, 1 twelve-pounder, 8 nine-pounders, 15 six-pounders, 6 four-pounders, 8 three-pounders.

Brass ordnance.—1 thirty-two pounder, 2 twelve-pounders, 2

I cannot conclude without assuring you of the unwearied zeal and assiduity of commodore Sir Home Popham, in whatever could contribute to the success of this expedition, and of the cordial co-operation and great assistance which I have received from him.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) W. C. BERESFORD, maj. gen.

Fort of Buenos Ayres, 11th July, 1806.

I trust the conduct adopted towards the people here has had its full effect, in impressing upon

nine-pounders, 2 six-pounders, 6 four-pounders, 3 three-pounders, 16 two-pounders, 4 one-pounders, 1 nine and half-inch mortar, 3 five and half-inch mortars, 1 six-inch howitzer.

550 whole barrels of powder.

2064 muskets, with bayonets.

616 carbines.

419 pistols.

31 musketoons.

1208 swords.

(Signed) J. F. OGILVIE, capt. commanding
royal and St. Helena artillery.

Since the above return was sent to major-general Sir David Baird, the following guns, left by the viceroy in his flight, have been taken, and arms, &c. received.

Brass ordnance.—3 four-pounders, 3 two-pounders, and 1 six-inch howitzer.

139 muskets with bayonets.

71 muskets without bayonets.

85 pouches.

39 swords.

J. F. O.

their minds the honour, generosity, and humanity of the British character. His Majesty's ministers will see, by the detail of our proceedings, that, after the army had passed the Rio Chuelo, the city of Buenos Ayres remained at our mercy, and that, in fact, the only conditions on which I entered were such as I pleased to offer, and which humanity and a regard to our national character would naturally induce me to give under any circumstances.

However, to quiet the minds of the inhabitants, we not only consented to put in writing my promises, but acceded to many conditions not expected by them; and, contrary to direct stipulation, gave up to the proprietors all the coasting vessels captured, with their cargoes,* and the value of which amounted to one million and a half of dollars, and which being done, with the views already exposed, will, I trust, meet His Majesty's approbation.†

* About 153 vessels in number, from 150 tons, downwards.

† The proclamations issued by the British commanders on these subjects, were as follows:

PROCLAMATION,

By William Carr Beresford, major-general, commanding in chief His Britannic Majesty's forces, employed on the East coast of South America, and lieutenant-governor of Buenos Ayres and all its dependencies.

The town of Buenos Ayres and its dependencies being now subject to His Britannic Majesty, by the energy of His Majesty's arms, the major-general, with a view of establishing a perfect confidence in the liberality and justice of His Majesty's government, and quieting the minds of all the inhabitants who are now in the

I have the honour to inform His Majesty's ministers, that I had detached Captain Arbuthnot, of

city, or who, from the apprehension of the general casualties of war, may have quitted it, thinks it necessary to proclaim, without a moment's loss of time, That it is His Majesty's most gracious intention, that the people of Buenos Ayres, and such other provinces in the Rio de la Plata, as may eventually come under his protection, shall enjoy the full and free exercise of their religion, and that every respect shall be shewn to its holy ministers.

That the courts of justice shall continue the exercise of their functions in all cases of civil or criminal procedure, with such references to the major-general as were had to the viceroy on former occasions; and the major-general pledges himself, that as far as depends on him, every thing shall be done to bring those processes to an immediate and just issue.

All private property, of every description, shall receive the most ample protection; and, whatever may be required by the troops, either of provisions or other articles, shall be immediately paid for at such prices as may be fixed on by the cabildo.

The major-general, therefore, calls upon the most illustrious bishop, his coadjutors, and all ecclesiastical orders, foundations, colleges, heads of corporate bodies, mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, to explain to the inhabitants, in general, that they are ever to be protected in their religion and property; and, until the pleasure of His Britannic Majesty is known, they are to be governed by their own municipal laws.

The major-general thinks it necessary to acquaint the general and commercial interest of the country, that it is His Majesty's most gracious intention, that a free trade shall be opened and permitted to South America, similar to that enjoyed by all others of His Majesty's colonies, particularly the island of Trinadada, whose inhabitants have felt peculiar benefits from being under the government of a sovereign, powerful enough to protect them from any insult, and generous enough to give them such commercial advantages, as they could not enjoy under the administration of any other country.

the 20th Light Dragoons, on the 3d inst. with a party consisting of seven dragoons and twenty in-

With the promise of such rigid protection to the established religion of the country and the exercise of its civil laws, the major-general trusts, that all good citizens will unite with him in their exertions to keep the town quiet and peaceable, as they may now enjoy a free trade, and all the advantages of a commercial intercourse with Great Britain, where no oppression exists, and which he understands has been the only thing wanting by the rich provinces of Buenos Ayres, and the inhabitants of South America, in general, to make it the most prosperous country in the world.

The major-general has now only to call upon the magistrates to send to the different farmers in the country, and induce them to bring into the markets provisions and vegetables of every description, for which they shall be immediately paid, and any complaints which may be made shall be redressed without delay.

It having been represented to the major-general, that some of the existing duties bear too hard on the enterprize of commerce, he has determined to take the earliest opportunity of informing himself, on that subject, from the best commercial authorities, and he will then make such reductions in the overbearing duties as may seem most conducive to the interest of the country, until the pleasure of his Britannic Majesty is known.

(Signed)

W. C. BERESFORD,

Maj.-Gen. and Lieut.-Gov.

PROCLAMATION,

By the commanders in chief of His Britannic Majesty's forces, by land and sea.

Although the laws of war give all ships, barges, vessels, boats, and craft, of every description, in harbours, rivers, and creeks, to the captors, yet the commanders in chief of His Britannic Majesty's forces by land and sea, feeling that such captures will distress the owners of small vessels, as they may be the only means by which they gain their livelihood; and, anxiously wishing to give every encouragement to real industry, and every accom-

fantry, (the whole mounted), to a place called Luxam, fifty miles distant. My principal object was to have the country reconnoitred, and to see what were the dispositions of the inhabitants; but, with the avowed object of escorting back some of the treasure which had been taken from here, and to prevent its following the viceroy, which I had reason to suspect was intended, though it was said to be all private property; and, in which case, we had declared, if brought back, it should be given to its owners, if of this city. Captain Arbuthnot returned last night; and, I am glad to say, with information of a pleasing nature; for, your lordship will see, by this detachment passing so easily through the country, that

modation to the inhabitants of South America, do, by this proclamation, give up all such small vessels as shall appear to be really vessels carrying on the coasting trade of the river. And they, at the same time, call upon all the owners of those vessels, and the inhabitants in general, to see that no imposition is practised on the captors, by the vessels claiming this act of grace, that are not intitled to it. The captors trust they merit this attention from their liberal conduct to the inhabitants of South America, and their desire to do every thing in their power to promote the happiness of the country.

The description of vessels included in this proclamation, are to be named by captain Lajunor and captain Thompson, captain of the port.

Given under our hands, in the castle of Buenos Ayres, the
30th day of June, 1806.

(Signed)

W. C. BERESFORD,
HOME POPHAM.

whatever their present inclinations may be, there is no very great danger from any hostile intentions against us: and captain Arbuthnot reports rather favourably of the general dispositions of the people. The country to Luxam, as I have already represented, in general the whole of it is a perfect flat, and the view of the horizon obstructed by nothing but the immense herds of horses and cattle, but principally horned cattle.

Luxam is situated on a river of the same name, and where there is a bridge over it, and the route leading to all the interior provinces, and I rather think it will be adviseable, on many accounts, that I possess myself of it, which I can do by a small detachment. Much of the treasure was caught actually going to Cordova, and the rest, but for the opportune arrival of the party, would have been pillaged.

The waggons conveying this treasure may be expected here to-morrow. Those with the royal treasure, and that of the Philippine company, arrived some time since, and is already embarked.

Fort of Buenos Ayres, July 16th, 1806.

I am now able to transmit nearly an account of the money which has been received as prize under the terms of my agreement with the acting governor of the place, previous to my entering the town. The statement shews the various departments and public bodies whence the sums form-

ing the total has been derived.* The sum of one million, eighty-six thousand, two hundred and

* *Account of Monies, &c. received in consequence of an agreement on the 23th of June, 1806, and that brought from and near Luxam.*

Buenos Ayres, July 16, 1806.

Embarked on board His Majesty's ship Narcissus.

| | Dollars. |
|---|-------------------|
| Royal treasure, brought in by Mr. Casamajor | - 208,519 |
| Philippine Company, ditto | - - - - - 100,000 |
| Post-office, ditto | - - - - - 55,872 |
| Tobacco-administration, ditto | - - - - - 94,323 |
| Custom-house, ditto | - - - - - 57,000 |
| From the agent of the Philippine Company | - 100,000 |
| 114 skins, containing each 3000 dollars, brought back from Luxam by captain Arbuthnot's party | 342,000 |
| 2 boxes, ditto | - - - - - 5,932 |
| Gold bar, ditto | - - - - - 562 |
| 71 ingots of silver, ditto | - - - - - 113,000 |
| | <hr/> 1,086,208 |

Remains in the treasury.

| | Dollars. |
|--|------------------|
| From the agent of the Philippine Company | - - 30,000 |
| Consulada, brought back from Luxam, by captain Arbuthnot's party | - - - - - 61,790 |
| 32½ linen bags,* ditto | - - - - - 32,500 |
| 38 boxes,† brought back from Luxam, by captain Arbuthnot's party | - - - - - 76,000 |
| Box found in the house of a priest | - - - - - 4,825 |
| | <hr/> 205,115 |

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| Embarked on board the Narcissus | - - - 1,086,208 |
| Remains in the treasury | - - - 205,115 |

Total 1,291,323

* Not counted, but supposed 1000 dollars each.

† Not counted, but supposed 2000 dollars each.

eight dollars is going home in His Majesty's ship *Narcissus*; and Sir Home Popham and myself have thought it right to reserve here, for the exigencies of the army and navy, a considerable sum; and for the purpose of keeping down the exchange on bills drawn by the respective services, and which would otherwise bring the dollar to an enormous price.

It is estimated that the merchandize in the king's stores, principally Jesuits' bark and quicksilver, and which is in the Philippine company's stores, with the little that is retained of floating property, will amount, if it can be disposed of, to between two and three millions of dollars. Of the bullion delivered in, some is claimed as private property, and which shall be delivered in the same spirit of liberality, with which, we trust, it will be considered we have acted here. The sixty-one thousand seven hundred and ninety dollars were yesterday delivered to the *Consulada*, on their assurance only that it belonged to the people of this town, and they have a claim upon forty or fifty thousand dollars more, which will be settled this day.

CHAP. X.

*Colonial government—Viceroys—Royal Audiences—
Council of the Indies—Ecclesiastical establish-
ments—Revenues—Expenditure—Inhabitants,
manners, and customs—Their different classes—
Chapetones—Creoles—Mulattoes and mestices—
Negroes—Indians—Unsubdued Indians—Their
principal tribes, customs, &c.—Patagonians.*

HAVING thus traced the progress of the discovery, conquest, and internal history, of these regions; the maxims which regulate the interior structure and policy of the Spanish settlements, their colonial government, and the diversity of inhabitants under it, are the objects that next attract attention.

The despotic nature of the royal authority in Spain, whose monarchy had extended their prerogatives far beyond the limits which once circumscribed the regal power in every kingdom of Europe, diffused itself over their transatlantic possessions in the earliest stages of their settlement. The fundamental maxim of Spanish jurisprudence with respect to America, is to consider their acquisitions there as vested in the crown. By the

bull of Alexander VI. on which, as her great charter, Spain founded her right, all the regions that had been, or should be, discovered, were bestowed as a free gift upon Ferdinand and Isabella. They and their successors were uniformly held to be the universal proprietors of the vast territories which the arms of their subjects had conquered in the new world; and, though they had contributed little to the discovery, and nothing to the conquest, they instantly assumed the exercise of sovereign authority, and the function of legislators. From them all grants of land emanated; and to them they finally reverted. The leaders who conducted the various expeditions, the governors who presided over the different colonies, the officers of justice, and the ministers of religion, were all appointed by them, and removable at their pleasure. The cession by the papal see of all ecclesiastical dominion in the Spanish colonies to their monarchs, has been noticed, and contributed largely to the consolidation of their authority; and the pomp and splendour of a monarchical government was transferred to their American possessions by the establishment of vice-regal dignities.

The viceroys not only represent the person of their sovereign, but possess his regal prerogatives, within the precincts of their own governments, in their utmost extent. Like him they exercise supreme authority in every department of government, civil, military, and criminal. The external pomp of their government is suited to its real dig-

nity and power ; their courts are formed upon the model of that of Madrid, a sumptuous establishment, officers of state and a regular household, numerous attendants, and guards both of horse and foot, displaying the insignia of civil power, and the ensigns of military command, with a degree of magnificence, scarcely retaining the semblance of delegated authority. This parade of government, amongst a people fond of ostentation, greatly augments the burthen on the revenues of the country ; for all the expense incurred by thus maintaining the state and dignity of royalty, is defrayed by the crown. The salaries of the viceroys are extremely moderate, compared with their exalted station : that of the viceroy of Buenos Ayres is forty thousand ducats. These salaries, however, constitute but a small proportion of their incomes. The exercise of an absolute authority extending to every department of government, and the power of disposing of many lucrative offices, afford them numerous opportunities of accumulating wealth. To these, large sums are sometimes added by exactions, which, in countries so far removed from the seat of government, it is not easy to discover, and not possible to restrain. By monopolizing some branches of commerce, by a lucrative concern in others, by conniving at the frauds of merchants, a viceroy may raise such an annual revenue as no subject of any European monarch enjoys. According to a Spanish saying, the legal revenues of a viceroy are known, his real profits depend upon his opportunities and his conscience.

Sensible of this, the kings of Spain grant a commission to their viceroys only for a few years; but this circumstance often renders them more rapacious, and adds to the ingenuity and ardour with which they labour to improve every moment of a power, which they know is fast hastening to a period; but which, short as its duration is, usually affords sufficient time for repairing a shattered fortune, or for creating a new and princely one.

The viceroys are aided in their administration by officers and tribunals, similar to those in Spain. The conduct of civil affairs is committed to magistrates of various orders and denominations; some appointed by the king, others by the viceroy, but all subject to the command of the latter, and amenable to his jurisdiction. The administration of justice is vested in tribunals, known by the name of Royal Audiences, of which there are two in the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres; one in the capital, the other at La Plata or Chuquisaca. Both civil and criminal causes come under their cognizance, and peculiar judges are set apart for each. In particular cases, in which any question of civil right is involved, the royal audience has the power of remonstrating against the political regulations of the viceroy; but in the event of a direct collision between their opinion and the will of the viceroy, what he determines must be carried into execution, and nothing remains for them but to lay the matter before the king and the

council of the Indies. Yet to be entitled to remonstrate and inform against a person who represents the sovereign, and is clothed in his authority; and before whom all others must be silent, is a privilege which adds dignity to the courts of audience, and, together with the still greater and more substantial prerogative they enjoy of exercising all the functions of viceregal authority, upon the death of a viceroy, and until another is appointed by the king, give an importance to the judges of the royal audience, they would not, simply as magistrates, attain. In matters which come before the royal audiences, in the course of their ordinary jurisdiction as courts of justice, their sentences are final in every litigation concerning property of less value than ten thousand piastres; but when the subject in dispute exceeds that sum, their decisions may be carried by appeal before the royal council of the Indies.

In this council, one of the most considerable of the monarchy for dignity and power, is vested the supreme government of all the Spanish dominions in America. It consists of a president, four secretaries, and twenty-two counsellors, besides officers. The members of the council are generally chosen from the viceroys, and other magistrates, who have served in the American provinces. It was first established by Ferdinand, in the year 1511, and brought into a more perfect form by Charles V., in the year 1524. All laws and ordinances relative to the government and police

of the colonies originate there, and must be approved of by two-thirds of the members before they are issued in the name of the king. All the offices, to which the nomination is reserved to the crown, are conferred in this council. To it every person employed in America, from the viceroy downwards, is accountable. It reviews their conduct, rewards their services, and inflicts the punishments due to their malversations. Whatever intelligence is received from America, either public or secret, is laid before it, and every plan for the improvement of the administration, the police, or the commerce of the colonies, is submitted to its consideration. The power and splendour with which the catholic monarchs have encircled this council, give it dignity at home, and render it formidable in America. The Spaniards have perhaps too highly extolled the sagacity of its measures, the justice of its decisions, and the integrity of its members. The manifold abuses practised of the regulations in favour of the Indians, and the manifest languishment in which many of the Spanish settlements were plunged, may impeach the one; the delay and tortuous proceedings in the suits brought before it, of which some are recorded of eight and ten years duration, do not tell in favour of the other; and the instance adduced below,* is a proof that integrity has not

* The Marquis de Serralvo, by a monopoly of salt, and by embarking deeply in the Manilla trade, as well as in that to Spain,

always predominated in their appointments. It has, however, with a considerable degree of propriety, been remarked, that whatever portion of public order and virtue still remains in Spanish America, where so many circumstances conspire to relax the former, and to corrupt the latter, may, in a great measure, be ascribed to the wise regulations and vigilant inspection of this respectable tribunal; the meetings of which, are always held wherever the king resides, as he is supposed to be always present at their deliberations.

Another tribunal, called the *Casa de la Contratacion*, or the board of trade, was established at Seville, and acts likewise as a court of judicature. In the former capacity it directs whatever relates to the intercourse of Spain with America, and in the latter, it judges with respect to every question, civil, commercial, and criminal, arising in consequence of the transactions with the colonies; and in both these departments its decisions are exempted from the review of any court, but that of the council of the Indies.

The military power of the viceroys is subdivided under various officers; and separate districts are committed to the charge of captains-general, governors-general, lieutenants-general, and commanders, who are, in their military capacity,

gained annually a million of ducats. In one year he remitted a million of ducats to Spain, in order to purchase a prolongation of his government. He was successful in his attempt, and continued in office from 1624 to 1635, twice the usual time.

immediately under the authority of the viceroys. The military department is much neglected in all the Spanish possessions; badly clothed and armed, and worse disciplined, the militia, though perhaps sufficient to keep the Indians in subjection, are not equal to a defence against an European force; and the regulars, widely scattered, licentious, and relaxed, are scarcely better, excepting where they are kept for the parade of bodyguards to the viceroys.

The support of the enormous and expensive fabric of their ecclesiastical establishment has been a burthen on the Spanish colonies, which has greatly retarded the progress of population and industry. Though the policy of Ferdinand, more enlightened in this respect than could be expected in his age and country, obtained from the sovereign pontiff, a grant of the tythes in all the regions of America, the benefits of this acquisition were lost to the crown and the state, under his successors. The payment of tythes in the colonies on every article of primary necessity was early enjoined and regulated by law, and principally devoted to the foundation and support of an hierarchy, adequate to the spiritual government of a mighty empire.* A splendid train of

* Charles V. appointed the tythes to be applied in the following manner: one fourth is allotted to the bishop of the diocese; another fourth to the dean and chapter, and other officers of the cathedral. The remaining half is divided into nine equal parts. Two of these,

archbishops, bishops, deans, and other dignitaries, were endowed with princely incomes. Cathedrals and churches were erected in disproportionate numbers, and adorned with profuse magnificence.

To the weight of legal impost, the bigotry of the American Spaniards has made many voluntary additions. From their fond delight in the external pomp and parade of religion, and from their reverence for ecclesiastics of every description, they have bestowed lavish donations on churches and monasteries, and have unprofitably buried in the recesses of superstition, a large proportion of that wealth which might have nourished and given vigour to productive labour in growing colonies. The early institution of monasteries in the Spanish settlements, and the inconsiderate zeal with which they were multiplied, have been equally unpropitious. The Spaniards had hardly taken possession of America, than, with a most preposterous policy, they erected convents without number, where persons of both sexes were shut up, under a vow to defeat the purposes of nature, and to counteract the first of her laws. Influenced by a misguided piety, which ascribes transcendent merit to a state of celibacy, or allured by the prospect of that listless ease, which, in sultry climates, is deemed supreme felicity, numbers crowded into

under the denomination of *los dos novenos reales*, are paid to the crown; and the other seven parts are applied to the maintenance of the parochial clergy, the erection and support of churches, and other pious uses.

those mansions of sloth and superstition, and were lost to society. In the remotest and most desert provinces convents arose, and celibacy became a ruling passion, where depopulation was making rapid strides. Some regulations were made in order to check this spirit, so inimical to the increase and prosperity of the colonies; but the American Spaniards, more thoroughly under the influence of superstition than even their countrymen in Europe, and directed by ecclesiastics more bigotted and illiterate, conceived so high an opinion of monastic sanctity, that no regulations could restrain their zeal; and by the excess of their ill-judged bounty, religious houses have multiplied to a degree no less amazing, than pernicious to society.

The inferior clergy are divided into three classes, under the denominations of *Curas*, *Doctrineros*, and *Misioneros*. The first are parish-priests in those parts of the country where the Spaniards have settled. The second have the charge of such districts as are inhabited by Indians subjected to the Spanish government, and living under its protection. The third are employed in instructing and converting those fiercer tribes, who disdain to submit to the Spanish yoke, and live in remote, or scarcely accessible regions, to which the Spanish arms have not penetrated. The moral character of the ecclesiastics in this country has been virulently arraigned; an opportunity will presently occur to discuss it.

These remarks, though referring to the civil and ecclesiastical government of the whole of Spanish America, apply also particularly to the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres: of the minor municipal regulations, it is only necessary to say, that they are constituted similarly to the other Spanish establishments, of cabildos, corregidores, regidores, alcaldes, and alguazils; dispensing justice, preserving order, or administering chastisement, according to their respective offices.

The revenues which the Spanish monarchs derive from their American dominions, arise from taxes of various kinds, which may be divided into four capital branches. The first contains what is paid to the king, as sovereign or superior lord; and to this belongs the duty on the gold and silver extracted from the mines, and the tribute exacted from the Indians. The second branch comprehends the numerous duties on commerce, which accompany and oppress it in every stage of its progress, from the greatest transactions of the wholesale merchant, to the petty traffic of the retail vender. The third consists of what accrues to the king, as head of the church, in consequence of which, he receives the first-fruits, annates, spoils, and other spiritual revenues, levied by the apostolic chamber in Europe; and is also entitled to the profits arising from the sale of the bull of Cruzado.* The fourth source of revenue, is

* This bull, which is published every two years, contains an absolution from past offences, and, amongst other immunities,

the monopoly of various branches of trade, reserved to the crown.

The amount of these revenues from the province of Buenos Ayres, has hitherto never been exactly calculated or ascertained; but the following statement, collected from the most authentic sources, will, it is presumed, be found as accurate an estimate as could be framed, under the disadvantages of the secrecy and jealousy of the Spanish government on these subjects:

First Branch.

| Duties on the gold and silver coined at | Piastres |
|---|-----------------|
| Potosi - - - - - | 650,000 |
| Profit on the coinage - - - - - | 120,000 |
| Tribute of the Indians - - - - - | 550,000 |
| | <hr/> 1,320,000 |

permission to eat several kinds of prohibited food during lent, and on meagre days. The monks employed in dispersing these bulls, extol their virtues with all the fervour of interested eloquence; the people, ignorant and credulous, listen with implicit assent; and every person of European, Creolian, or mixed race, purchases a bull, which is deemed essential for his salvation, at the rate set upon it by government.

The price paid for the bull varies according to the rank of the purchasers, and has been different at different periods. That exacted for the bulls issued in a late *Predicacion* for Peru, including Paraguay, will appear from the ensuing table.

| Bulls | | Pesos | Reals |
|----------------------|---------------|-------|------------|
| 3 issued at 16 pesos | 4½ reals each | - | 49 5½ |
| 14,202 - - - 3 do. | 3 do. do. | - | 47,931 6 |
| 78,822 - - - 1 do. | 5½ do. do. | - | 133,012 1 |
| 410,325 - - - - | 4 do. do. | - | 205,162 4 |
| 668,601 - - - - | 3 do. do. | - | 250,725 3 |
| 1,171,953 bulls | | pesos | 636,831 3½ |

Second Branch.

| | | |
|---|---------|-----------|
| Duties of <i>Alcavela</i> , or excise on the sale of goods, which is four per cent. - - - | 385,000 | |
| Minor duties of excise on various articles - - - | 200,000 | |
| Stamp-duty - - - | 32,000 | |
| Duties of <i>Aduana</i> or customs* on importation and ex- portation, which amount to thirty-four and a half per cent.† - - - | 750,000 | |
| | <hr/> | 1,367,000 |

Third Branch.

| | | |
|---|---------|---------|
| Produce of the bull of Cru- zado, published every two years, making an annual revenue of - - - | 160,000 | |
| First-fruits and ecclesiastical annates - - - - - | 30,000 | |
| Royal ninths of the tythes - | 72,000 | |
| | <hr/> | 262,000 |

* Including the *Almajorifasgo*, or custom-duty, and the *Averia*, or convoy-duty, which last is an impost of two per cent., first laid on when Sir Francis Drake filled the new world with terror, by his expedition to the South Sea : this estimate includes also the *Consulado*, or town's dues.

† Upon the capture of Buenos Ayres, these exorbitant duties were immediately and judiciously reduced by the British commanders to ten per cent. ad valorem, and two and a half per cent. for the consulado, or town-dues; and this regulation has been sanctioned and established by his Majesty's order in council, dated the 17th September, 1806.

Fourth Branch.

| | |
|--|---------------------------|
| Profits on the exclusive sale of quicksilver, from the mo- nopoly of tobacco and of gunpowder, and the royal commerce in paper - - - | 350,000 |
| On the assiento of negroes - | 200,000 |
| On the trade in the herb of Paraguay, formerly mono- polized by the Jesuits - | 500,000 |
| Other revenues formerly be- longing to that order - | 400,000 |
| | <hr/> 1,450,000 |
| Total, piastres | <hr/> 4,399,000 |
| or, sterling | <hr/> <hr/> £ 989,775 0 0 |

This sum is far from being the whole of what accrued to the crown of Spain from the possessions constituting the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres; for it does not include the duties imposed on the commodities of Europe, on their exportation from Spain; and those levied on the colonial produce, on its arrival in the metropolitan ports, which together, with several smaller branches of finance, bring large sums into the treasury, but which it is not necessary to ascertain in the present inquiry.

But, if the revenue which Spain exacts from her American settlements be great, the expence of administration in them is proportionably still greater;

and it is ascertained, that upwards of one half of the royal income remains in the colonies, to defray the charges of her splendid and complex establishments. Every department of domestic police and finances is encumbered with a variety of tribunals and of officers, multiplied with anxious attention, from the jealous spirit with which Spain watches over her American settlements, and from her endeavours to guard against fraud in provinces so remote from inspection. From the sums necessary for the support of the splendour of viceroyalty, and the numerous retinue of officers and attendants, little is spared for the purposes of amelioration or of defence; and a recent experiment has proved, that the conquest of the most valuable settlements, is an achievement of facility almost equal to the importance of the acquisition.

The inhabitants of these extensive regions are divided into classes, which, notwithstanding the inextricable mixture of blood which is met with amongst them, are separated by wide intervals and protrusive discrimination. There are five main distinctions, which are: 1. The Spaniards who arrive from Europe, and are distinguished by the appellation of *chapetones*, who again are either *old christians*, or men of more equivocal descent. 2. The *creoles*, or descendants from European parents of a breed unmixed with any of the inferior classes. 3. The *mulattoes* and *mestices*, with their various ramifications of colour, which have mostly

distinctive appellations amongst the Spaniards. The *mulatto* is the issue of a white and a negro; the *mestice* or *mestizo*, of a white and an Indian, but there are both *mulattos* and *mestizos de chapetones*, and *mulattos* and *mestizos de criolles*, enjoying different degrees of respect, according to their reputed origin; the *quadron de negros* is the issue of a white and a mulatto; the *quadron de indios*, that of a white and a mestizo; the issue of a white and a quadron, though distinctively called a *terceron*, varies in colour so little from the creoles, that generally, disguising the stain in their descent, they mix and rank with the latter; the *sambo de mestizo* and the *sambo de mulatto* are respectively the children of a negro and a mulatto, and a negro and a mestizo; and the *sambo de indios* is the issue of a negro and Indian. These are the principal denominations, though there is an endless multiplicity of other varieties, the knowledge of which is almost a science of itself. 4. The negroes imported from Africa, or born of negro-parents in the country. And 5. The Indians, the lowest and most despised class of the community.

The chapetones, or European Spanish inhabitants, are the first in rank and power. From the jealous attention of the Spanish court to secure the dependence of the colonies, all departments of consequence are filled by persons sent from Europe; and, in order to prevent any of

dubious fidelity from being employed, each must bring proof of a clear descent from a family of *old Christians*, untainted with any mixture of Jewish or Mahometan blood, and never disgraced by any censure of the inquisition. In such pure hands, power is deemed to be safely lodged, and almost every public function, from the viceroy downwards, is committed to them alone. By this conspicuous predilection, the chapetones are led to look down with disdain on every other order of men. Most of these are only temporary residents in the colonies, and return to Europe after a longer or shorter abode, and with a greater or less acquisition of wealth. But as being born in Old Spain, is of itself a sufficient distinction, all others who have passed into the colonies, either by the permission of government, or clandestinely, are numbered amongst the chapetones; and, though their genealogy may be reputed less pure, and they are of inferior consideration to the old Christians, they still look down upon the creoles as far beneath them.

This distinction is not transmitted to their children, and the immediate progeny of the most noble amongst the chapetones descend into the rank of creoles, a denomination bestowed upon all who are born of white parents in America. Though some of the creolian race are the posterity of the conquerors of the new world; though others can trace up their pedi-

grees to the noblest families of Spain; though many of them have purchased or inherited distinguished titles of nobility; and, though numbers are possessed of ample fortunes; yet, the invidious preference given by government to their haughty rivals, and their despair of ever attaining that distinction in society, to which mankind naturally aspire, joined, in many parts, to the enervating influence of a sultry climate, and the abundance and luxury in which they live, have so entirely broken the vigour of their minds, that most of them waste their lives in low debauchery or luxurious ease, in the practice of superstitious ceremonies, or in the pursuit of romantic intrigues. The only door of emulation that is open, is in old Spain, where civil, military, and ecclesiastical dignities, are accessible to them; but very few have ever trodden this distant path to honour, and fewer yet have applied themselves to the pursuits of literature or the avocations of commerce. Languid and unenterprising, the operation of an active or extended trade would be to them so cumbersome and oppressive, that they, almost in every part of America, decline engaging in it. The interior traffic of the colonies, as well as that with Spain, is carried on chiefly by the chapetones, who, in recompence of their industry, amass immense wealth, whilst the creoles sunk in sloth, remain satisfied with the revenues of their paternal estates. Many, how-

ever, devote their lives to the church; and, although the crozier is never bestowed upon any but Europeans, the inferior ecclesiastical dignities, and the functions of both the regular and secular clergy, are filled indiscriminately by the chapetones and the creoles. The creoles of the third and fourth generation are a shade browner than the chapetones, well made, and though taciturn, occasionally lively and agreeable. The creolian ladies are reckoned much handsomer than the Spanish; the jetty black of their hair and eyes, contrasting admirably with the brilliant white of their countenance, which, though divested of the roses of European beauty, has nothing of the ashy paleness of disease. The men possess the germs of eminent good qualities, but, debased by their education, depressed in their spirits, and domineered by superstition, they are licentious, indolent, and fanatical. Indulging in the wildest excesses with their mulatto and black females, tyrannised by them, and in their turn tyrannising over their Indian servitors and negro-slaves. Reserved with, and prepossessed against, all Europeans, but especially hostile and mistrustful towards the Spaniards; returning the contempt with which they are treated by the chapetones with equal disdain, and demonstrating their inveterate animosity by the opprobrious appellation of *cavallos*, or brutes, which they bestow upon their rivals. It is asserted, that the court

of Spain, from a refinement of distrustful policy, cherishes these seeds of discord, and foment this mutual antipathy, which not only prevents the two most powerful classes of its American subjects from combining against the parent-state, but prompts each to observe the motions, and counteract the schemes of the other.

From these two classes, the clergy in the colonies are chiefly selected, though there are several instances of men of colour, and even Indians, being admitted to the priesthood. Where their influence is so great, the character of this powerful body is an object that deserves particular attention. A considerable part of the secular clergy are natives of Spain, but the ecclesiastical adventurers by whom the American church is recruited, are commonly such as have little prospect of success in their own country. Accordingly, the secular priests in the new world, are still less distinguished than their brethren in Spain for literary accomplishments. But the greatest part of the ecclesiastics in the Spanish settlements are regulars. On the discovery of America, a new field opened for the pious zeal of the monastic orders, who, with becoming alacrity, immediately sent forth missionaries to labour in it; and the popes permitted the four mendicant orders to accept of parochial charges in America, to perform all spiritual functions, and to receive the tythes,

without depending on the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese. Whenever a call is made for a fresh supply of missionaries, men of the most ardent and aspiring minds, impatient under the restraints of a cloister, weary of its insipid uniformity, and fatigued with the irksome repetition of its frivolous ceremonies, offer their services with eagerness, and repair to the new world in quest of liberty and distinction. Nor do they pursue distinction without success. The highest ecclesiastical honours and the most lucrative preferments are often in the hands of regulars; and it is chiefly to the monastic orders that the Spanish Americans are indebted for any portion of science which is cultivated amongst them. But the same disgust with the cloister, to which America is indebted for some instructors of worth and abilities, filled it with others of a very different character. The giddy, the profligate, and the avaricious, to whom the poverty and rigid discipline of a convent are intolerable, consider a mission to America as a release from mortification and bondage. There they soon obtain some parochial charge; and, far removed from the inspection of their monastic superiors, and exempt from the jurisdiction of their diocesan, they are not only destitute of the virtues becoming their profession, but are regardless of that external decorum which preserves a semblance of worth when the reality is wanting. Unfortunately this character is not peculiar to the regulars, or to those who

arrive from Europe; but the provincial clergy of both classes are equally stigmatised by some of the most zealous catholics. Shall these men, says one, preach the christian virtues, who set examples of the most unchristian vices? Shall they preach forbearance and patience? they who go armed with daggers for protection in their libertine pursuits? Shall they preach poverty and contempt of riches? of whom the most exemplary engage in trade, and have slaves of both sexes? Shall they preach humility? whose pride and arrogance are intolerable, and many of whom go clothed in the richest attire concealed under their clerical garments? Shall they preach purity and chastity? they whose lives are a tissue of debauchery and dissolute licentiousness?

Various schemes were proposed for redressing enormities so manifest and offensive; and it was contended that the regulars ought, in conformity to the canons of the church, to be confined within the walls of their cloisters, and not be permitted to encroach on the functions of the secular clergy. But the ancient practice was long tolerated, and the corruption of the monks spread through the whole of the ecclesiastical establishment. At last, as the veneration of the Spaniards for the monastic orders began to abate, Ferdinand VI. issued an edict, in 1757, prohibiting regulars from taking charge of any parish, and declaring, that, on the decease of the present incumbents, none but secular priests should be presented to vacant

benefices. The missions, however, are yet given to the monks of the various orders resident in Spanish America, since the expulsion of the Jesuits; but the deportment of the ecclesiastics in general is said to have been much ameliorated in consequence of this regulation.

In justice, however, to the Jesuits, it must be owned, that every observer has excepted from the general accusations of immorality, and irregularity, the fathers of the society of Jesus. Their stricter discipline, or their ulterior views, prevented them from debasing their profession, or scandalizing the laity, like the other orders of monastic institution; and it is principally owing to them that any steady or permanent conversions took place amongst the Indians.

A principal lure, by which not only the Indians are attracted within the pale of the church, but which cements the attachment of the Spanish inhabitants to their religion, is the splendour and pageantry of its rites. The Romish superstition appears with its utmost pomp in the New World. The magnificence and riches of the churches and convents have been before mentioned; and on high festivals, the display of gold and silver, of precious stones, of relics, and of rarities, is such as exceeds the most studied exhibitions in the European Catholic states. The celebration of the festival of Corpus Christi, at the city of Buenos Ayres, is thus described by a late eye-witness:

The morning was ushered in by the ringing of

bells, the firing of cannon, and other similar demonstrations of joy. At ten o'clock, upon a signal given from the governor's house, the community prepared to join in the general cavalcade, and assembled in the great square. The religious orders appeared in their respective dresses, noviciates, lay-brothers, and fathers, with music, choristers, banners, pictures, and precious relics. Assembled nations crowded around, and it seemed as if people from all parts of the earth were collected together, presenting every different shade of complection, from the white and ruddy inhabitant of Northern Europe, to the sable-hued native of Guinea. The outsides of the houses round the square were hung with festoons of flowers, and live birds, tied with strings to prevent their escape, but long enough to admit of their fluttering sufficiently to expand their beautiful plumage; a contrivance which had a very picturesque effect. Upon a volley being fired by a party of soldiers, the whole garrison being drawn up on one side of the square, the procession commenced. The military, fully accoutred, first filed off, two and two, with martial music, halting at intervals to discharge their pieces; the church bells ringing, and the ships in the harbour saluting. Next came the religious of the order of St. Francis; then a second division of the military, and the choristers of the cathedral; to these succeeded the monastic orders of St. Jago and St. Dominic; borne upon a richly decorated

and lofty altar, then appeared the elements of the eucharist, surrounded by all the people of the first rank and quality in the city, most richly dressed, some of them bearing lighted tapers highly perfumed, others incense, many banners, and not a few relics : the whole groupe flanked by soldiers on horseback, in their newest and best attire, firing alternately to the right and left ; and wherever a cross appeared, which was at the end of almost every street, the whole cavalcade halted to chant the service appointed for the day. After the eucharist, came another division of soldiers, and after them, all the other religious of the town. The procession passed through the middle of the streets, the sides of which were thronged by the mixed multitude of every complexion, of every age, and of both sexes ; but, notwithstanding their numbers, all ranged in regular order, and observing a profound silence, except when they joined in the general responses of the service.

The decorations of the houses were beyond conception magnificent. Every habitation was hung either with tapestry or coloured cottons of various dyes, ornamented with feathers, festoons of flowers, and numerous and costly ornaments and utensils, of gold, silver, and jewels, all the riches of the owners being displayed on this solemn occasion. Across the streets triumphal arches stretched at intervals, composed of boughs of trees artfully interwoven, loaded with fruit, and enlivened by a great variety of living birds, suspended in cages

or tied with strings. Tables with every species of eatables were set out at intervals, and close to the houses were likewise placed numbers of living animals, young lions, tigers, wolves, dogs, and monkees, carefully secured, so as to prevent any possibility of their hurting the passengers. From the windows were suspended baskets, containing every variety of seed and grain with which they meant to sow the ground, and upon which they invoked the benediction of the passing deity. The ground was strewed with herbs and flowers, in many places so regularly disposed as to resemble the most delicate carpets. When the procession reached the cathedral, the air was rent by the multitude of voices, and the edifice was entered under a heavy discharge of artillery from the fort and from the ships in the harbour, and of musquetry from the soldiers in the streets. Here high mass was celebrated and the sacrament administered, with the utmost solemnity and pomp; and the cavalcade afterwards returned in the same order. The principal inhabitants and Indian caciques were invited to the governor's, where a plentiful banquet was provided for them. The provisions exhibited in the street, were distributed by the priests amongst the inhabitants, who entertained all strangers that chose to partake of them. At night there was a general rejoicing, with fire-works, dancing, bull-feasts, and martial exercises.

Before quitting the subject of religion, it is

right to remark, that the proverbial bigotry of the Spaniards seems of late to be much relaxed at Buenos Ayres and its vicinity. More liberal sentiments begin to prevail, and, whether arising, as some have supposed, from a tincture of the French philosophy imparted to them by their alliance with revolutionary France, from the leaven of the former popular commotions that prevailed in these provinces, or from the natural progression of the human mind towards its emancipation from prejudice and error; both more freedom of discussion, and more toleration in religious matters, are to be found now than formerly. The treatment experienced at Montevideo by the protestant missionaries to the South Sea, who were captured in the ship *Duff*, and carried into Rio de la Plata, in 1799, strongly exemplifies this observation. They were repeatedly pressed to stay in the country, and they were promised that their religious principles should be connived at, and neither their private worship impeded, nor their compliance with any of the outward forms of the Roman religion be required. Their mechanical professions appear to have been, in this case, the inducements for the application. But it is a remarkable instance of toleration, that they were not only suffered, under the denomination of *padres lutheranos*, to perform their own religious exercises, but even to administer the rites of baptism, according to the protestant faith, to two of

their children born in the country, in the presence of a numerous company.*

Of the general manners of the Spaniards, very favourable traits occur in the narrative of those missionaries. In particular on the occasion alluded to; curiosity to be present at one of the sacramental rituals of an heretic communion, had allured several of the principal inhabitants of Montevideo of both sexes, accompanied by numerous domestics, to the habitation of the missionaries; but uninvited and unexpected, they knew that adequate provision for their entertainment could not be made by "prisoners in a strange land," and the English were not a little surprised, to see hampers unloaded and brought into the house, containing provisions from town, all ready dressed, and in abundant variety; meat of all kinds, turkies, ducks, pigeons, chickens, wild fowl, tongues, pastry, sweetmeats, soups, bread, wine of all sorts, coffee, &c. with table and coffee services, and servants to wait upon the company. The consideration and liberality of the

* One of these missionaries gives the following quaint, but expressive, form of baptism used on the occasion, "I baptized my son, naming him Ebenezer Gershom, in the name of the father, and of the son, and of the holy ghost, in the presence of Europeans, Africans, and Americans, of different sentiments and professions, Roman catholics, protestants, and infidels, selected from different nations of the globe, from France, Spain, England, Africa, North and South America."

Spaniards appears to have been uniformly exerted towards these English prisoners, whose female companions were treated with the utmost respect and attention by the Spanish ladies. A less favourable specimen of the British fair had, a short time before, been seen in the country, where the female convicts, from the Lady Shore transport, which had been carried into Montevideo by mutineers, had been landed. Their dissolute manners, and degraded habits, soon withdrew from them the humane attention with which they had at first been treated, and most of them were sent into the interior of the country, where they will add to the inextricable mixture of races that prevails, and their progeny may supply a half-bred British population, the taint of whose maternal descent, it is to be hoped, may be obliterated by an absence from the scenes of temptation and vice which gave rise to the compulsive emigration of their mothers.

The Spaniards of America are said to carry the vices of pride and indolence of their mother-country to a great and intolerable excess. The *siesta*, or afternoon's repose of two hours, is a custom so universal, that even the workmen will seldom forego it, by which a considerable proportion of productive labour is lost to the community. To sleep, talk, smoke segars, and ride on horseback, are the occupations of the day; and from the abundance and cheapness of horses and mules, no Spaniard, whether a chapetone or a creole, is seen on

foot. Few families of any note, in Buenos Ayres and Montevideo, have less than six or eight domestic negro-slaves, and many keep from forty to fifty, to perform the various offices of menial servitude, or to serve the purposes of ostentation on occasions of festivity.

The women of the superior classes pass their lives in a similar or greater state of inutility than those of civilized Europe. The mornings are employed in the offices of religion, in sitting in their entrance-halls, playing the guitar, or receiving and paying visits: the middle of the day is devoted to sleep; and the evening to dress, music, conversation, or occasionally, dancing, cards not being in fashion. Their female slaves attend to every domestic concern, in which it would be considered as degrading for their mistresses to intermeddle. Though they appear veiled in public, or at least wear large black hoods, which serve the same purpose, they live at home in perfect freedom, and the characteristic jealousy of the Spaniards seems to have abandoned them in the new world. This passion seldom disturbs the tranquillity of either sex; amorous intrigues are as frequent as the superstitious rituals of the church; illegitimate children are publicly acknowledged, and, provided no taint of colour disqualifies them, are entitled to the right of inheritance, and enjoy equal respect with the other creoles.

The dress of the men is mostly an imitation of the French style before the revolution; the old

Spanish garb being laid aside, except on occasions of ceremony, when the doublet, hose, and cloak, of party-coloured silk, with their usual appendages of fringe, lace, or ribbons, a feathered hat and a long sword, distinguish the *hidalgos* and *cavaleros* from the community. The cloak, however, is very generally worn abroad, and small cutlasses or long knives, supply the place of the ancient toledo. The dress of the students at the university of Cordova is thus described: a doublet, hose and cloak of black cotton, a Genoese velvet hat, and shoes and stockings of silk, the former fastened with bunches of ribbon.

The ladies of Buenos Ayres are reckoned the most agreeable and handsome of all South America. An English traveller has not, however, considered them as equalling his countrywomen in beauty, yet the playful voluptuousness of their manners, conversation, and dress, contrasting with the gravity and taciturnity of the men, are described as calculated to please and designed to ensnare. Their usual dress is of light silk, and fine cotton, with a profusion of lace, which rather displays than conceals the contour of the bosom. No head-dress or cap confines or encumbers their long and flowing black hair. A petticoat that descends scarcely below the knee, is lengthened by folds of deep lace, which seldom hide from view even the gold fringe of their tasseled garters. At their assemblies, the brilliancy of their appearance excites admiration. A petticoat of va-

rious coloured taffeta, ornamented with gold lace, or fringe, richly tasseled, though carried down to the feet, is worn with sufficient art to conceal, and with sufficient address, at intervals to display, the shape of the leg, which is encircled by a silk stocking with a fanciful and luxuriant display of gold embroidery. Slippers of embroidered silk, or gold brocade, with diamond buckles or clasps, but unpleasantly high-heeled, and sometimes with heels of solid silver, adorn the feet. A kind of jacket of rich velvet is fitted tight to the shape, and laced or buttoned in front, with long points hanging down quite round the petticoat, and trimmed at the ends with pearl tassels. A cloak of gauze, or very fine cotton, hanging down to the ground, and occasionally fastened to the side by a clasp of jewels, is thrown over the shoulders, which would be otherwise wholly uncovered; as would also be the beauties of the bosom, but for the innumerable trinkets, jewels, necklaces and crosses, with which its luxuriance is hidden; the principal of these is a large oval or round gold plate in the middle, connected with a broad ribbon that passes over the shoulders, and under the arms, and returning, forms a sash round the waist. A head-dress, consisting either of a handkerchief of gold gauze with braids of diamonds, or of chains of gold twisted in and out of their shining black hair, completes the attire of ceremony of a lady of rank.

The national dance of the *fandango* is as great a

favourite here as in Spain, and the *calenda*, still more indecent, which has been introduced by the negroes from the coast of Guinea, has no less become the pastime of the Spanish inhabitants. At their assemblies, the etiquette of rank seems to be nearly abolished; all, provided they are not contaminated by negro or Indian blood, are admitted, and a good dancer of the fandango carries his recommendation to the first company in his heels. At their grand repasts, which are taken in the evening, and are profuse in the extreme, it is considered as genteel for every one to eat as much as possible, and the guests may likewise take away with them as much as they please, without derogating in the least from the rules of good breeding. In public companies the sexes intermingle, but in private, the men are not allowed to sit amongst the women, unless they are invited, and such a favour is considered as a great familiarity. From this restraint, however, ecclesiastics of all descriptions are free. A priest, young or old, may enter a house at what time he pleases, go into whatever apartment he sees fit, and stay as long as he thinks proper. They pass and repass perfectly at their ease. They form a considerable proportion of all public assemblies, mix promiscuously in all societies, and appear to be the confidants of all.

When on horseback, the Spaniards wear the Indian *poncho* or cloak, which in shape is some-

thing similar to the smock-frock of our farmers and carters. It is much more convenient than the common cloak: it secures the wearer from the rain, is not ruffled by the wind, and not only serves him for a coverlid at night, but also for a carpet when he rests in the fields. It is often adorned with costly embroidery, and those used by men of rank, sometimes cost from two to three hundred piastres.

Their equipages are imported from Europe, and do not partake of the clumsiness of the harness, which is made in the country, and which either consists of thongs of leather or hempen ropes, that would be considered as disgraceful to an English farmer's team. The saddles and stirrups are both curious and clumsy, and the bridles painful to the beast. In accoutring a horse, three or four pieces of sheepskin are first put on its back, then a horsecloth doubled, next two large pieces of leather curiously cut round the borders, then the saddle is fastened on with a girth, and a large furry skin covers the whole. The stirrups are of various kinds, some being only pieces of wood in a triangular form, others are clumsy logs with a hole cut for the admission of the toes, and curiously carved. Some bridles have a little notched wheel, which, when pulled, rattles and cuts the horse's tongue, and others have a piece of iron which lies flat upon the tongue, both of which have a powerful effect,

but render the horses hard-mouthed, and compel the constant use of a tight rein.

Within doors the Spaniards are described as filthy in the extreme. Ablution of any kind is never, or very negligently, performed. The rooms of the wealthy are swept with a broom made of a kind of stiff grass that grows in the swamps; but the domestics follow the indolent example set them by their superiors; and none of them will do the least work beyond what is their allotted portion. Flies and various kinds of vermin are abundant plagues in every house, and the ravages of the ants are only equalled by those of the rats and mice. They do not use feather-beds, but lie on mattresses; the lower ones are made of pimento-leaves, stitched in fine cotton; the upper ones of fine wool, or the down of geese, laid between pimento-leaves, and covered with silk or velvet. The sheets are generally of very fine cotton, neatly trimmed with lace, the blankets of the finest Spanish wool, very thin; the coverlid of silk or velvet, fringed with gold or silver, the curtains are made of East India gauze, elegantly painted: these curtains are kept close drawn, and fastened down with small hooks to the lowest mattress, in order to prevent the intrusion of the flies: the bedsteads are high, and generally placed in a recess or alcove.

Of their cookery, Englishmen give but an indifferent account, and have considered the

bountiful provision of nature as spoiled by the perverted taste of man. Both meat and fish are disguised, and their flavour undiscernible, by the accumulation of spice, eggs, oil, onions, and garlic, with which they are dished up. Instead of butter, they make use of beef suet, melted down and refined, better than tallow, but not quite so good as the dripping of our kitchens. They kill a sow for the sake of her unfarrowed pigs, and a cow for her calf, considering both as delicate morsels.

The third class of inhabitants in the Spanish colonies is a mixed race, and are either *mulattos* or *mestizos*, or their various collateral branches already enumerated. As the court of Spain, solicitous to incorporate its new vassals with its ancient subjects, early encouraged the Spaniards, settled in America, to intermarry with the natives of that country, several alliances of this kind were formed in the infant colonies. But it has been more owing to licentious indulgence, than to compliance with the injunctions of the sovereign, that this mixed breed has multiplied so greatly, as to constitute a considerable part of the population in all the Spanish settlements. The several stages of descent in this race, and the gradual variations of shade, until the African black, or the copper colour of America, brighten into an European complexion, are accurately marked and defined by the Spaniards. Those of the first and se-

cond descent, are politically considered as mere Indians and negroes; but in the third descent, the characteristic hue of the former disappears; and in the fifth, the deeper tint of the latter is so entirely effaced, that they can no longer be distinguished from Europeans; but yet, unless they conceal the condemning stigma of a coloured origin, they do not become entitled to the privileges of such. It is chiefly by this mixed race, whose frame is remarkably robust and hardy, that the mechanic arts are carried on, and other active functions of society discharged, which the two higher classes, from pride or from indolence, disdain to exercise.

In this numerous and useful, though, in some measure, degraded, class of the community, are found likewise professors and teachers of the liberal arts, and the mestizos in particular apply themselves to music, in which they make a considerable proficiency. Most retail trades are carried on by them, and the hired servants are almost all either mulattos or mestizos. The females of this mixed race too frequently devote themselves to meretricious allurements; and acquire an ascendancy over the minds and persons of their paramours, which the women of Spanish or creolian race fail in attaining. They affect to dress in the same style as the Spanish ladies, though they cannot rival them in the richness of the materials. The men in general wear a blue cloth manufactured in the country, and are ambitious

of imitating the Spaniards, both in the colour and fashion of the clothes they wear.

The negroes hold the fourth rank amongst the inhabitants of the Spanish colonies. Though the Spaniards do not themselves engage in the nefarious traffic in slaves from Africa, they do not scruple to purchase those which are brought to them by others. They are mostly employed in domestic service; they form a principal part of the train of luxury, and are cherished and caressed by their superiors, to whose vanity and pleasures they are equally subservient. Their dress and appearance are hardly less splendid than that of their masters, whose manners they imitate, and whose passions they imbibed. Elevated by this distinction they have assumed such a tone of superiority over the Indians, and treat them with such insolence and scorn, that the antipathy between the two races has become implacable. The laws have industriously fomented this aversion, and thus, by an artful policy, the Spaniards derive strength from that circumstance in population, which is the weakness of other European colonies, and have secured, as associates and defenders, those very persons who are elsewhere objects of jealousy and terror. The purchased slaves are far better treated than the conquered Indians: for, the former are private property, the latter belong to the king, and are only lent for two lives to the holders of the *encomiendas*.

Occasion has before been taken to detail the mode in which the personal services of the Indians are distributed, as well as the abuses that occurred, and the ineffectual attempts at redress. A few further general observations, when considering the present situation of the Indians as the fifth and last class of the inhabitants of Spanish America, will, however, not be here misplaced.

By the regulations of Charles V. in 1542, the pretensions of the conquerors of the new world, who considered its inhabitants as their slaves, were abrogated. From that period the Indians were reputed to be freemen, and entitled to the privileges of subjects. But as no considerable benefit could be expected to the community from the voluntary efforts of men, unacquainted with regular industry and averse to labour, it was found necessary to fix what was thought reasonable to exact from them; an annual tax was imposed upon every male from the age of eighteen to fifty; and the nature and extent of the services that they might be required to perform, were ascertained with precision. The amount of this tribute has varied at different times and in different provinces, but its present annual medium may be estimated at a piastre a head, though they were originally rated at four or five piastres. Though this may seem no exorbitant sum in countries, where, as at the source of wealth,

the value of money is very low, such is the extreme poverty of the Indians in some parts, that the exaction of it is intolerably oppressive. Every Indian is either an immediate vassal of the crown, or depends upon some subject to whom the district in which he lives has been granted for a limited time as an *encomienda*; and the tribute is paid respectively either into the royal treasury or to the *encomenderos*, excepting a fourth part, which is reserved for the purposes presently to be mentioned. When Spain first took possession of America, the greater part was parcelled out amongst its conquerors, and only a small portion was reserved for the crown. As those grants, which were made for two lives only, reverted successively to the king, he had it in his power either to diffuse his favours by grants to new proprietors, or to augment his own revenue by valuable annexations. The latter alternative was frequently adopted, the number of Indians now depending on the crown is much greater than in the first stage after the conquest, and this branch of the royal revenue continues to increase.

The services which can now be legally demanded of the Indians, are very different from the tasks originally imposed upon them. They are either employed in works of primary necessity, without which society cannot comfortably exist, or are compelled to labour in the mines.

They are in consequence obliged to assist in the culture of maize, and other grain of necessary consumption; in tending cattle; in erecting edifices of public utility; in building bridges; and in forming roads; but they cannot be constrained to labour in raising vines, olives, or sugar-canes, or in any species of cultivation which tends to commercial profit, or to the gratification of luxury: but they are also forced to undertake the unwholesome and onerous task of extracting the ore from the bowels of the earth, and of separating and refining it. The mode of exacting these services is under regulations, framed with a view of rendering them as little oppressive as possible. They are called out successively, in divisions, termed *metas*, and no person can be compelled to go but in his turn. The number called out must not exceed the seventh part of the inhabitants in any district; and each meta, or division, destined for the mines, remains there six months. They are paid at the rate of four reals per day, and have often opportunities of earning double that sum. No Indians residing at a greater distance than thirty miles from a mine, are included in the meta employed in working it; nor are the inhabitants of the low country exposed now to certain destruction, as they were at first, by being compelled to remove from that warm climate, to the cold and elevated regions of the mines.

In the principal towns, the Indians are entirely

subject to the Spanish laws and magistrates; but in their own villages they are governed by caciques, according to the maxims of justice transmitted to them by their ancestors. To the Indians this jurisdiction, lodged in such friendly hands, affords some consolation; and so little formidable is this dignity to their masters, that they often allow it to descend by hereditary right. For the further relief of men so much exposed to oppression, an officer in every district is appointed with the title of protector of the Indians. It is his function to assert their rights, to appear as their defender in the courts of justice, and to set bounds to the encroachments and exactions of his countrymen. A certain portion of the reserved fourth of the tribute is destined for the salaries of the caciques and protectors; another is applied to the maintenance of the clergy employed in the instruction of the Indians; and another part is appropriated for the benefit of the Indians themselves, and is applied to make up the deficiency of the tribute in years of scarcity, or when a particular district is afflicted by any local calamity.

Such is the solicitude displayed, and the precautions multiplied, for the preservation and the security of the Indians in the Spanish colonies. But these later regulations, like the more early edicts, have too often proved ineffectual remedies; and where the same causes have continued to operate, the same effects have followed. From such

an immense distance between the power entrusted with the execution of laws, and that by whom they are enacted, the vigour, even of the most absolute government, must relax, and the dread of a superior, too remote to observe with accuracy, or to punish with dispatch, must insensibly abate. The Indians still suffer on many occasions, both from the avarice of individuals, and from the exactions of the magistrates who ought to protect them; unreasonable tasks are imposed; the term of their labour is prolonged beyond the period fixed by law, and they groan under many of the insults and wrongs that are the lot of a conquered and dependent people. They are consequently timid, suspicious, and deceitful. They shrink from the voice of a Spaniard, and foster the most bitter, but secret, animosity of the soul against their masters. The Indians alone are employed in the mines; it is alleged that neither the whites, the negroes, nor even the mestizos, can bear the deleterious labour; but it may shrewdly be suspected that the pride, the indolence, and the partial freedom, which those classes enjoy, alone prevent their sharing in the noxious employment, which, notwithstanding the boasted ability of the Indians, it is well known, destroys the largest proportion of the miners, either by rapid mortality, or by the slow germs of disease with which they return to their habitations. Although the service of the mines is considered as most destructive; those of agriculture, and of public

work, the labour of which can not be prescribed with legal accuracy, are in a great measure arbitrary, and like those exacted by feudal superiors from their vassals, are extremely burthensome, and often wantonly oppressive. Yet this oppression does not uniformly or invariably exist, and in many of the more remote districts, where there are few Spaniards, the Indians enjoy not only ease, but affluence; they possess large farms; they are masters of numerous herds and flocks; they even work mines or lavatories for their own benefit; and by the knowledge they have acquired of European arts and industry, and the exuberant abundance of their country, are supplied not only with the necessaries, but with many of the luxuries, of life.

The character of these *Indios fideles*, the civilized or subjected Indians, is not easily defined. Those who inhabit the interior provinces of the viceroyalty, retain many traces of the ancient civilization of the Peruvians; and those of Tucuman, Paraguay, and Rio de la Plata, partake of the national character of their savage ancestors; but the manners of all are blended and disguised by the operation of the bondage to which they have been reduced. They, in general, possess a stoical tranquillity, which may be ascribed to their despair of ever redeeming their liberties. In their mean apparel they seem as contented as the monarch clothed with the most splendid inventions of luxury. They equally disregard riches, and

even that authority which is within their reach is so little the object of their ambition, that, to all appearance, it is the same thing to an Indian, whether he be made a cacique or an alcalde, or required to perform the office of a common executioner. Their natural indolence is represented to be so great, that fear can not stimulate, nor respect induce, nor even punishment scarcely compel, them to exertion. They are in general remarkably slow, but very persevering, and this has given rise to a proverbial saying, when any thing of little value in itself requires a great deal of time and patience, that it is only fit to be done by an Indian. In weaving carpets, curtains, quilts, and other stuffs, being unacquainted with any better method of passing the woof, they have the patience every time to count the threads one by one, so that a year or two is requisite to finish a single piece. But the care of almost every work is left to their women; who spin, and make their apparel, cook the food, grind the barley, roast the maize, and brew the chica. The only domestic labour in which the men engage, is the ploughing of their chacara, or little spot of land; but the sowing, and the rest of the culture, is done by their wives and children.

The tasks which are imposed upon them by their masters, are performed with reluctance, and require the constant attendance of overseers. The only thing for which they shew any alacrity, is for entertainments of dancing, singing, and drink-

ing. They never fail on these occasions to drink till they are completely overcome by the liquor. It is worth notice, however, that the Indian women, whether married or single, as well as the young unmarried men, entirely abstain from intemperate excess; it being a maxim amongst them, that drunkenness is the exclusive privilege of masters of families, as being persons, who, when they are unable to take care of themselves, have others to perform that office. The person who gives the entertainment, provides chicha enough for all the guests he invites, at the rate of a jug, which contains about two gallons, for each. The eatables seldom consist of any thing but parched maize, or boiled herbs. The women hand the chicha round in calebashes; a kind of pipe and tabor is the music, and the dancing, which consists principally of various attitudes and gestures, not reconcileable to our ideas of decorum, commences; their mirth continues while kept up by the liquor, or till they sink under their intemperance. Neither conjugal ties, nor the nearest degrees of relationship, are restraints upon the promiscuous sexual intercourse that ensues; and it is a maxim, that the husbands must not resent, either upon their wives or their gallants, the privileged familiarities of these orgies, although, on other occasions, the chastity of their married women is an object of solicitude. The day after the festival is called concho, which signifies the day for drinking off the remains of the preceding; with these they

begin, and if not sufficient, they club for more; which frequently occasions a new concho for the next day, and so on, till no more chica is to be had.

Their burials are likewise celebrated with excessive drinking. The house of mourning is filled with jugs of chica, and all of the nation who happen to pass by are invited to come in and drink to the honour of the deceased. The ceremony lasts four or five days; for strong liquor is their supreme wish and the great object of all their labours.

Their huts are small, and have a fire-place in the centre. Their beds in some parts consist of two or three sheep-skins, in others they tie a bullock's hide by the four corners, to four short posts stuck in the ground, and they never undress. They breed poultry and hogs, and are particularly fond of dogs: and here it is worth observing, that the dogs bred by the Spaniards and Mulattoes, and those bred by the Indians, are animated by the mutual hatred of their masters; the former will fall upon an Indian whenever he approaches them, and the latter attack with equal fury every Spaniard or Mulatto they meet. Round some of their huts a wall is erected, about four feet high, wholly built of bullocks' heads, one above the other, with the horns, as cut from the animal's neck. Their food chiefly consists of beef, fruit, and maize: the usual method of cooking their beef is to suspend it over a fire on the earth, upon an iron or wooden spit; and they cut off pieces

as they want it, when little more than warmed through.

The superstition of their ancestors has not been superseded amongst the Indians by that of the church of Rome, for they often intermingle the practices of both. Their knowledge of the christian religion is superficial, and their observance of its worship in general compulsory*. In their marriages they depart from the sentiments of most other nations, esteeming what others detest; a virgin being never the object of their choice. They look upon it as a sure indication, that a girl who has not been known to others, can have nothing pleasing about her. They generally live together three or four months before they marry, which they call *Amanarse*, to habituate themselves; and this custom is so common that the

* An Indian had for some time absented himself from the service of the church, and the priest being informed that it was owing to his having been employed in drinking, charged him on a Sunday, when he had been particularly ordered to make his appearance, with his fault, and directed that he should receive some lashes, the usual punishment of such delinquents. After undergoing this castigation, he turned about to the priest, and thanked him for having chastised him according to his deserts; to which the priest replied by an exhortation to him, and to the audience in general, never to omit the duties of Christianity. But he had no sooner finished than the Indian stepped up to him, and requested that he would order a like number of lashes to be given him for the next Sunday, as he could not come to church, having made an appointment for a drinking-match.

priests, when they marry, always give them absolution from that sin before they bestow the nuptial benediction. It is not uncommon for them to change their wives, and when the parties are agreed, they cannot be persuaded of the impropriety of it, and the priests are obliged to wink at this irregularity.

They regard death with indifference, and are unconcerned at its nearest approach. Their intrepidity shews itself on many occasions; and when they fight in a body, they fall on without any regard to superiority of numbers. They are very dexterous in haltering a bull at full speed, and, fearless of danger, attack him with great temerity. With the same dexterity they hunt bears, in the mountains of the Cordillera, where those animals abound. A single Indian with only his horse and a noose, never fails of subduing the rage, and circumventing the cunning, of a bear. The noose is made of cow-hide, so thin as not to be seized by the beast's paws, yet so strong as not to be broken by its struggles. On perceiving the bear, the Indian makes towards him, whilst he sits up in order to seize the horse; but when come within the proper distance, the Indian throws the noose over the creature's neck; then, with surprising celerity, having taken two or three turns with the other end about the saddle, he claps spurs to his horse; and the bear, unable

to keep pace with the horse, and struggling to clear himself of the noose, is choaked.

The Indians in general are robust and of a good constitution. The syphilitic disease, though very common amongst the other inhabitants, is seldom known amongst them. Their unsusceptibility to the venom of this distemper, is attributed by some to a quality in the *chica*, their common drink. The disease which makes the greatest havock amongst them is the small-pox; which is so fatal that few escape it, and it is considered as a pestilence. It is not continual, as in other countries, seven or eight years, or more, passing without its being heard of; but when it prevails, its malignity is great, and the desolation general. The beneficent promoters of the invaluable discovery of Jenner, will now have the means of diffusing the blessings of vaccination, through the extensive regions of South America; and to Britain, the inhabitants of that continent will probably be indebted for a termination to the destructive ravages of the small-pox, which may at a future time be known only to their posterity by tradition. Tabardillos, or petechial fevers, occur too amongst the Indians, for which they have an expeditious, but singular, method of treatment. They lay the patient near the fire, on the sheepskins that compose his bed, and close by him place a jug of *chica*; the heat of the fever and that of the

fire, together cause a vehement thirst; by incessant drinking the eruption is augmented, and the next morning he is either in a fair way of recovery, or so bad as to be carried off in a day or two. Such as escape or recover from these diseases, attain an advanced age; and both sexes afford many instances of remarkable longevity.

The poncho, already noticed, is the principal part of their dress. It is generally made of thick woollen stuff, but sometimes of cotton, and not unfrequently of matted straw, mostly of a blue colour, and striped either transversely or longitudinally, with red or white. Their stockings and boots are made of skins flayed from the legs of horses and cows, in the same shape as when taken from the beast. Their shoes are pieces of stout hide, turned up and tied with slips of the same.

The importation and multiplication of horses in South America, have rendered all the Indians, both those which are subdued, and such as still remain in a savage state, expert horsemen; and even the women excel in the management of horses. The hunting of the wild cattle in the plains of the Pampas, is principally the occupation of the Indians and mestizos. The manner in which they carry on their attacks on the cattle is generally as follows:—A number of hunters, in company, repair on horseback to the places to which the wild cattle principally resort, provided with a

long pole, the extremity of which is armed with a sharp iron blade, crossing the shaft obliquely. With this weapon the hunter dexterously rips open the throat of the bullock. They use this method, as by piercing the body with lances or bullets the hides would be spoiled. Another method is with a sharp iron crescent, the points of which are about a foot across, at the end of the pole, with which the hunter hamstring the beast. Both these operations are performed without checking the horse; and when the prey has fallen, the hunter leaves it to pursue another beast, which he reduces in the same manner. When he has thus secured a sufficient number, or is fatigued with the exercise, he returns, finds out the spots where his beasts lie, which he is careful to impress on his memory, finally dispatches and skins them, carrying away the fat or suet, wrapped up in the hide, and sometimes the tongue, and leaving the carcase a prey to the wild dogs and vultures.

The large herds of cattle that are kept at the estancias or grazing farms, are nearly in a wild state from the extent of the pastures in which they range, and are sometimes hunted and caught in the same manner as the wild cattle. In general, however, the cattle intended to be killed, are driven into an inclosure. At the gate are the peasants on horseback, with their crescent spears; as many beasts

are then turned out as there are men in waiting, and each pursues his prey; they are immediately hamstrunged, dispatched, and flayed; and this exercise continues daily till all the cattle appointed for that year's slaughter are killed. An European is surprised, not only at their dexterity in hamstringing the beast, when both are on full speed, but also to see one man go through the whole work, with such regularity and dispatch; for each skins his beast, takes out the tallow, and cuts up the flesh for salting and drying; he then wraps the fat in the hide, and loading it on his horse carries it to the farm, returning again for the flesh. If the bullock be swifter than the horse, the peasant has recourse to his noose, and halters him by throwing it round his neck, or entangles one or two of his legs in the noose, as opportunity offers, and by that means secures him. Another method is as follows: when ready to begin, two mount their horses with their catch-ropes, which are thirty or forty yards in length, with the long noose at one end, the other being fastened to the saddle. One of them rides in amongst the cattle, and, selecting a beast, throws his noose round his horns and gallops away. The rope being run out, the other is ready with his noose, and swinging his rope several times over his head, he watches the opportunity of the beast kicking and struggling, and entangles one of the

hind legs. Both the horses immediately draw the rope tight in opposite directions, and, being well trained to the exercise, stand so firm that the beast cannot move. Another man now advances and hamstringing with a large knife the hind leg that is not secured, upon which the animal immediately falls, and his throat is cut. Though this to a stranger appears a tedious process, no more than four or five minutes are required to execute such a task by those who are experienced in it.

Another singular mode at their matanzas or butcheries, is by the erection of a machine, with a pulley and winch at the extremity of the inclosure; a bullock's horns are entangled in a rope which draws him on, and thrusts the head through an opening in the paling, where a man stands ready with a stout dagger, with which he stabs the beast between the horns in the pith of the neck, so that its death is almost instantaneous.

By the same method with which they catch the cattle, their catchrope and noose, they catch the horses, both those that run wild, and the others. It is very seldom that they miss their aim, though on full speed; and a man, however cautious, can no more avoid being taken in their snare than the animals they hunt; for it is one of the weapons, if that term may be given it, which they use in their private quarrels. The straggling robbers, who sometimes infest the roads remote from the

towns, also use the noose. In an open country, the only resource for safety, in such a case, is to throw oneself on the ground, keeping the legs and arms as close to the surface as possible, that the rope may have no room to get under any part. Amongst trees or underwood the noose is not dangerous; and if, by a rapid advance to the robber, the distance can be reduced to ten or fifteen yards, before he throws his noose, his dexterity may be ineffectual; but at twenty or thirty yards distance, it is almost impossible to escape. The Indians themselves, however, when they apprehend an attack of this kind, carry a lance, with which they are equally dexterous in parrying it. The nooses are made of thongs of a bullock's hide, cut round the skin, and of a proper breadth, these thongs are twisted, and rendered supple by grease; and are so strong, that, though when twisted they are not thicker than a little finger, yet they hold the wildest bull, when its efforts to escape would break a hempen rope of much larger dimensions.

In yoking their cattle to their clumsy carretaas or waggons, they fasten the yoke, which is a heavy log of wood, to the horns, by which the animals pull; from four to eight and ten bullocks are yoked in one team, which is guided by two men, with goads of curious contrivance; one is seated in the waggon, and with a hand-goad in one hand stimulates the hinder pair; with the other he guides a long wand, which is suspended from a pole pro-

jecting from the roof of the carretaa, and armed with goads, so as to touch the second and third pair; whilst the other man, on horseback, guides the foremost pair.*

They have the following singular method of tempering clay for bricks: the clay is collected in a large circle, inclosed by stakes and leathern ropes. When they are ready to work it up, from twenty to thirty horses are driven within the bounds, and an Indian, mounting one, drives them about with a long leathern strap; whilst other men stand around, throwing water on the clay, continuing in this manner till they are not only fatigued, but entirely covered with mud. They burn the bricks with the bones and heads of bullocks, as a substitute for wood, which is a very scarce commodity in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo.

The unsubdued Indians that surround the Spanish settlements, next claim attention. The detached information that has been obtained of the customs of the principal tribes, is necessarily imperfect, from the state of almost perpetual hostility in which they live with the Spaniards.

The Guaranis and the Tapes, tribes who have similar manners and the same language, are now nearly all subjected, either to the Portuguese of Brazil, or to the Spaniards of Paraguay, between

* The representation that is given of this contrivance in the plate will best explain it.

which territories their country lies. They are governed by hereditary and independent caciques, who enjoy considerable privileges. They reckon their years by winters, but seldom go beyond ten without committing a mistake. Eclipses, as amongst most untutored nations, are subjects of the greatest alarm to them. In giving names to their children, they accompany the ceremony with the following barbarous rite. They obtain for the purpose, a prisoner from some hostile tribe, who they treat with the best of fare for several days, giving even up to him the choice amongst their women. On the day appointed for the purpose, his throat is cut with great ceremony, and as soon as he is dead, the body is struck with a stick, and at every stroke a child receives a name; after this, the body is divided amongst the families whose children have thus been honoured, and separately cooked and eaten by them. When a girl arrives at the age of puberty, she is for several days employed in the most laborious tasks, restricted in her food, and never suffered to enjoy repose; by her manner of bearing this trial, they judge whether she is laborious, and otherwise qualified to undertake the care of a family; they then deck her out with the ornaments of her sex, and declare her to be marriageable. They have their magicians and physicians, in whose abilities they place implicit reliance, and of whose incantations they stand in great dread. They are an intelligent, active, and not an unwarlike tribe, who fur-

nished the greater part of the neophytes, who, under the Jesuits, have borne a conspicuous part in the history of the country.

The Caiguas are a roving tribe that inhabit the inmost recesses of the forests beyond the Parana. They depend solely upon the chace, and if that resource fails them, are obliged to have recourse for food to worms, ants, snakes, and other reptiles, with which the forests abound. Their women scarcely yield in whiteness to the Spanish, which is attributed to their constantly residing in the thickest parts of the forests. The men wear scarcely any clothing; the women have a kind of apron made of nettle-thread, which reaches from the waist to the knees. They are very wild, and, when taken prisoners, refuse nourishment, and foam and bite their chains, pinning, at length, entirely away. Their language is said to be very harsh and disagreeable, being a kind of inarticulate sibillation.

The Itatines, who inhabit the mountains that lie between the sources of the Parana and the Paraguay, speak the Guarani language, and appear to be of the same origin. They are very vigorous and nimble, and running is amongst their favourite diversions and most admired exercises; emulation in this practice is encouraged amongst them by foot-races and prizes.

The Guyacurus are a numerous nation, inhabiting the upper part of the Paraguay. They form several tribes, and carry their excursions to great distances. The men generally go quite naked,

but the women wear a covering from the waist to the knees. They paint their bodies with various colours, according to their age and military rank. The boys are painted black till sixteen, when, after many ceremonies, and rude trials of fortitude, they are coloured red and admitted as soldiers. At twenty they go through a further ceremony, and a more painful test, after which they are considered as veterans. They are constantly on the watch, and scarcely use any diversion but that of shooting at a mark, in consequence of which they are excellent marksmen. They carry on a perpetual warfare against the Spaniards; and generally kill all the men that fall into their hands, but preserve the boys, whom they marry to their daughters, and sell the children born of these marriages to their neighbours. They are extremely well mounted, and have numerous inaccessible retreats, to which, when worsted, they repair with wonderful celerity. They particularly celebrate the return of the pleiades to the horizon, which is a general holiday observed by the whole nation, and terminates like all their festivities, in the most brutal intoxication. The death of a cacique, or other person of distinction, is mourned by a general continence and abstinence from fish, which is their greatest delicacy, for a longer or a shorter time, in proportion to the rank of the deceased, or the respect in which he was held. A number of the relations of the deceased, or other voluntary victims, offer themselves as sacrifices to

accompany him to the world of spirits ; and the most precious ornaments they possess are buried with the body. Polygamy is not in use amongst them, but the bands of matrimony are very slight, and dissolved without ceremony. The condition of the women is very hard ; they are the slaves of the men, who shew no other kind of regard to them than that of presenting them with the scalps of the enemies, whom they have slain, on their return from an excursion. These scalps the women fasten to a post, round which they dance, singing the praises of the victors.

A number of independent tribes, under various names, rove over the plains of Chaco ; who are all, more or less, at enmity with the Spaniards. They are, in general, of an advantageous stature, and men of seven feet in height are not uncommon. They carouse immoderately with their chica, and generally terminate their revels by sanguinary quarrels. The women endeavour to obviate this, by carrying away all the arms they can get hold of, as soon as they perceive that the liquor is taking effect on the men. A trifle occasions hostility between these tribes, but their unconquerable inveteracy against the Spaniards soon unites them, on the first alarm from that quarter. They have no other occupation but war and pillage, and have rendered themselves very formidable to the Spaniards. Their arms are bows and arrows, and a well wrought lance or javelin, made of a very heavy wood, with a barbed point, made of a

deer's horn. This weapon they use with great strength and dexterity, and by means of a rope, to which it is fastened, they will draw in the man it has wounded, unless he has resolution enough to pull it out. They scalp their fallen enemies, and display these memorials of victory at all their entertainments. They are such bold and able horsemen, that the Spaniards dearly repent having stocked this country so well with horses. However swift these animals are, the Indians of Chaco stop them in full speed, and vault upon them, indifferently either sideways or from behind, without any assistance but that of their javelins, upon which they spring. They then, without saddle or bridle, or in fact without any thing but a halter, keep their seat, govern the animal with complete controul, and urge him to such speed, as to leave the best-mounted Spaniards far behind. The women of Chaco prick their faces, breasts, and arms. They are very robust, bring forth with great ease, and, as soon as delivered, bathe themselves and their children in the next lake or river. The dead are buried on the spot where they expire; a javelin is planted over the grave, to which the skull of an enemy, especially of a Spaniard, if it can be got, is fastened; the survivors remove from the place, and avoid passing by it till the deceased is entirely forgotten.

The Chiriguanos are a nation scattered over several districts of the provinces of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Los Charcas, and Chaco; and are most

inveterate enemies of the Spaniards. They appear to have originally come from Paraguay and the confines of Brazil. A Portuguese adventurer led a numerous body of them to the attack of the rich provinces of Peru, and carried desolation and slaughter wherever he went; he was, however, in the end, slain by his Indian allies, who settled themselves in various parts of the mountainous country. They have traditions of an ancient origin, of which they are so vain, that they despise the Spaniards, as a nation of upstarts. They live in a state of military democracy, and their enemies allow them to be valiant, frugal, and hardy. In Tarija, however, a body of the Chiriguanos have submitted to the Spanish dominion, and hopes have latterly been entertained that they will be induced to enter into treaties, by which the tranquillity of the provinces bordering upon them may be secured.

The Abipones inhabit the north-eastern parts of Paraguay. They are, in general, above the middle stature, and of a robust constitution. In summer they go quite naked, but in winter cover themselves with skins. They carry a quiver slung across their shoulders, and never go without a bow in the right hand, and a javelin, or a very long arrow, in the left. They paint themselves all over of different colours. They make holes in their lips and nostrils and several parts of their skins, to stick ostrich-feathers in them. They eradicate the beard at its first appearance, and like-

wise the hair of the forehead, so as to appear bald, whence the Spaniards give them the name of *callegas*. To have a right to wear his hair amongst them, a man must have killed an enemy; and to attain to military honours, and acquire any reputation for courage, he must have passed through trials similar to those of the *Guyacurus*. The *Abipones* accustom themselves, from their infancy, to the greatest insensibility, by inflicting the sharpest pains on themselves, so that at last they bring themselves to laugh under the severest tortures. The women, who are scarcely browner than the Spanish, are covered from the waist to the knees, and pricked or tattooed all over the rest of the body, but especially the face and the bosom. All that often can be seen of their skins is a kind of mosaic work, of different colours, sunk into the skin, and all of them shave the back part of the head. At the death of a *cacique*, the whole nation change names, and eat no fish for a month. They seldom rear but one child of each sex, murdering the others as soon as born, alleging, that as they are almost constantly travelling from one place to another, it is impossible for them to take care of more than two infants at a time, one to be carried by the father and the other by the mother. Polygamy is sometimes, but very rarely, practised amongst them. They are very cleanly, and use frequent ablutions. They are not anthropophagous, but are uncommonly voracious. They bury their dead under the shade of

a tree; and when a chief or warrior dies, they kill his horses on his grave. Some time afterwards they dig up his remains, and convey them to a distant and more secret place. Their opinion of another life is evident by the care which they take, on interring their dead, to bury provisions, and bows and arrows with them, that they may procure themselves a subsistence in the other world, and that hunger may not compel them to return to this, to torment the living.

The Mataranes are a neighbouring tribe, that have at times been subjected to the Spaniards. A singular custom prevails amongst them. They celebrate the anniversary of the death of a kinsman, by an invitation to all the friends and relations of the deceased, and every one of the guests is obliged to bring with him a dead ostrich. If it happen to be the anniversary of more persons than one, the guests must bring each as many ostriches as there are deaths to commemorate, because, in a kind of funeral procession made on these occasions, and attended with extraordinary ceremonies, each of the deceased must be represented by his own ostrich. The guests likewise make a present to the entertainer, who, by accepting it, lays himself under the obligation of returning the compliment in kind when he should be invited by them; this engagement even descends to his heirs, and to fail in it, is esteemed a just cause of warfare between the different villages to which the parties belong. These solemnities last for four days, at

the end of which the company bewail the deceased for the space of an hour. Their tears are succeeded by immoderate laughter, by dancing and feasting, and the ceremony concludes by complete intoxication and the most disorderly orgies.

Under the name of *Chiquitos* are comprehended several small nations scattered over a tract of land, that is bounded to the south by the plains of Chaco, and by a chain of mountains to the north, and is by the Spaniards reckoned as part of the province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra. It abounds in rivers and lakes, and from September till May is drenched with rain, and mostly overflowed. As soon as the waters retire, the inhabitants sow maize and rice, and plant sugarcanes, tobacco, and cotton, but know nothing either of the vine or of wheat. The great heat and excessive humidity, together with the inconstancy of the weather, cause many and dangerous diseases. The inhabitants are particularly subject to apoplexy, and are annually visited by a kind of plague. The frequent fatal issue of these disorders, however, has not so much been attributed to their malignity, as to the ignorance of the physicians, whose whole art is confined to two methods of cure. The first is by sucking the part affected; and the other by putting a woman to death, the *Chiquitos* imagining that all evil proceeds from that sex. Such husbands, therefore, as wish to get rid of their wives, find it an easy matter to induce the physicians to pronounce sentence upon

them, from which there is no appeal, as the cacique is himself the physician and the executor of his own decrees. The Chiquitos are, in general, above the middle size,* strong and sturdy, and are stated to be endowed with more penetration and judgment, and to be less addicted to the vices of laziness and deceit, than the surrounding tribes. Their agriculture is more extensive than that of any other nation around them, and they seem rather inclined to useful labour, than to listless indolence. Drunkenness, however, is their ruling passion, and they contract the habit of it from infancy. They differ but little from the Spaniards in feature, and are only of a darker complexion. Long hair is reckoned a great ornament amongst them, but they have very scanty beards, which appear late. Both men and women wear a kind of cotton shirt, but many of the young people go quite naked. They are nimble, courageous, and dexterous in the management of their arms, which are the same with those of the other nations of Paraguay. They have no kind of regular government, yet generally conduct themselves by the advice of their old men. The dignity of the cacique, though bestowed upon the bravest warrior, has very little authority annexed to it. They generally treat their prisoners well, adopt them, and give them their daughters in marriage. The caciques alone have the privilege of having two wives; but

the rest may divorce their's when they please and take others. A young man, however, finds it difficult to get a wife till he has given proofs of his bravery in war, or of his skill in hunting. They generally build their villages in woods, and the huts that compose them consist of nothing but straw. Their festivals last two or three days. They are begun by conjuring the demons not to disturb the joy of them, and their prayers are accompanied by great shouts, and by striking the earth with staves. The entertainment consists almost entirely of drinking chicha, which soon intoxicates them, and it generally ends in a riot, in which wounds, and often death, are inflicted. The guests, however, never fail to thank the person who invites them, and whatever has occurred during the influence of the liquor is consigned to oblivion. The chief traces of religion to be found amongst them, are their fear of demons, who, they say, appear to them under hideous forms; and their belief in the immortality of the soul, in consequence of which they inter provisions and arms with their dead. Eclipses are subjects of terror to them, and whilst they last they shoot their arrows into the air. Thunder and lightning they believe is occasioned by the departed souls quarrelling with the stars, amongst which they are supposed to have taken up their residence. Their language is difficult to learn; and every district, and sometimes every village, has its particular idiom.

The Moxos are a numerous nation to the north-westward, much resembling the Chiquitos, in appearance, in character, and in customs. They do not, however, till the ground, but subsist principally by hunting and fishing. They poison their arrows; and make girdles ornamented with the teeth of the enemies they have killed, and of the wild beasts they have destroyed. A barbarous custom prevails amongst them, that young children are always buried with the mother when she happens to die, as no other woman will take charge of them; so also, when twins are born, one is destroyed. They sell the prisoners they take in battle for slaves, and the Spaniards, when not at war with them, purchase many of their captives for the mines. They are, more than other nations of this continent, jealous of the honour of their wives, and adultery is sometimes punished by death. They worship an invisible tiger; and their priests are not raised to that honour, till they have escaped from the attack of a terrestrial one; they are then revered as persons singularly favoured by the invisible tiger, in having been protected by him from the visible one, with which they have fought. A long and rigorous fast, however, is further necessary, and abstinence for a considerable time from all flesh or fish. After this the juice of certain herbs of a very sharp and corrosive nature is squeezed into their eyes, which puts

them to great pain, but they pretend that it sharpens the sight, whence the priests are called *Tiharogui*, signifying in their language, *more clear-sighted*.

The Manoa tribes next commence, and extend from the borders of the Moxos to the Maragnon and Oronoco rivers. They live dispersed in the forests in small tribes, each under the direction of one or two caciques. They are usually tall, robust, and well made, it being an invariable custom, that whenever a male child is born, with distorted limbs or any remarkable defect, it is instantly deprived of life. Their complexion is fairer than that of the Peruvians. They flatten the forehead and the hind part of the head, by boards bound to the heads of the infants. Some of them go naked, but others wear cotton shirts, and the married women all wear a short petticoat; the unmarried females, however, are all in a state of nudity. They wear a variety of pendant trinkets of gold and silver in their ears, nostrils, and lips, and adorn the arms and neck with strings of human or other teeth. The women are particularly careful of the hair. Both males and females stain the teeth and lips black, and paint the body with various colours. With the exception of the caciques, who, in some instances, have two wives, they are not polygamists; and marriages are generally agreed upon between the parents, whilst their children are quite young;

the intended couple being brought up together from their infancy, and cohabiting when they attain the age of puberty. These bonds are not indissoluble, and they are mutually at liberty to quit each other when caprice dictates, or the love of variety incites. Of their religious sentiments, an interesting account is given. They believe in one God, on whom they bestow the human figure, and who they consider as the author of the earth, and likewise of the heavens, whither, they say, he retired after having completed the creation of the former. They name him father and grandsire, but neither erect altars or temples, or pay him any homage. They address him, however, at the time of an earthquake. They think that this phenomenon arises from his quitting the sky to pass the living mortals in review, and to infer from the noise they make, the number that exist. Impressed with this belief, and persuaded that at each of his steps, the earth trembles, they all quit their huts simultaneously, running, leaping, stamping, and exclaiming Here we are! Here we are! They likewise admit an evil being, inhabiting the centre of the earth, who they consider as the author of all their misfortunes, and at whose name they tremble. The most shrewd amongst them take advantage of this belief to obtain respect, and represent themselves as his delegates. Under the denomination of Mohanes or Agoreros, these men are consulted on all occasions: they preside over the intrigues of

love, the health of the community, and the operations of war. They frequently, however, pay dearly for the failure of their prognostics, and must betake themselves to flight for safety, if their patient die, or the arms of their tribe suffer defeat. Under the name of *piripiri*, they have recourse to various charms, composed from the vegetable kingdom, for success in amorous pursuits,* for relief in sickness, for revenge of injuries, and for the gratification of other passions, or the supply of other wants. They all believe in a future existence, but in various ways; and some, it is asserted, adopt the doctrine of transmigration; their caciques, warriors, and faithful wives, pass into the bodies of animals they most esteem, such as the tiger and the monkey; and the surviving relations pay adoration to that animal, into which the soul of the deceased is supposed to be fled. At their burials they destroy whatever the deceased has left behind him, and burn his dwelling. One tribe disinter their dead, as soon as they think that the fleshy parts are consumed; and having washed the bones, carry the skeleton home, where they retain it for about a year, after which the bones are again buried, and the individual to whom they belonged is forgotten for ever. They find some difficulty in

* One of these compositions received into the stomach, is said to have a peculiar effect on females; *Una de ellas, tragada, se cree disminuir el volumen de ciertas partes del sexo femenino, y mejorar su conformacion.*

subsisting without implements of husbandry, which is not owing to any deficiency of animal food, or to any infertility of the soil, for fruits, birds, quadrupeds, and fishes, are found in abundance, but they cannot dispense with certain roots which require culture; one of the principal is the yuca, with which they make the liquor which is their only comfort and their principal beverage. They seldom taste water, which, in consequence of the heat and of the innumerable morasses, is of a noxious quality. To cultivate the yuca, they clear a small portion of the forest with stone hatchets, wrought with much patience, and having burnt the wood that is felled, they turn up the earth with a stick shaped like a sword. They also cultivate cotton for the manufacture of their garments. Their principal occupations, however, are hunting, fishing, and warfare; and in these pursuits they employ tubes, spears, clubs, poniards, darts, and arrows, made of the hardest woods, and with the points imbued with the most active poisons derived from the vegetable kingdom. For fishing, they usually make use of tubes and arrows; and in hunting, darts and spears, with which they are not afraid to encounter the tiger.* In war, they likewise use

* A mode of hunting the tiger, in use amongst some of the Indians, which is described by Charlevoix, requires no small degree of dexterity and presence of mind. The huntsman taking a long stick and holding it with both hands presents it in a horizontal direction to the animal, who never fails to seize it in his mouth. Whilst the

bucklers of interwoven reeds lined with skins. Their towns are fortified with some art. They are usually built against the side of a hill, with two gateways, one towards the plain, the other opposite to it. The whole is in the form of a half moon, with the convex part turned towards the forest. When they are assailed at one of the gates, whilst a part endeavour to maintain that post, the remainder gain the forest by the other outlet, and dividing themselves into two wings, defend the place advantageously by attacking the assailants in the flanks. Deep pits are also dug in the centre of the towns, and in other parts, overlaid with brambles and palm-leaves, to stop the progress of pursuit and entangle the enemy. Those who attack, however, are generally the conquerors; but even if repelled, the village is always destroyed, and the inhabitants remove to another spot. The heads of their enemies are brought home in triumph; they strip the skins from them, stuff them with straw, and dry them in the smoke, thus forming masks of them, which are brought out and insulted at their rejoicings. The teeth they extract for their collars, and the skulls they suspend as trophies from the roofs of their dwellings. The captives they make are

creature is endeavouring to wrest it or break it with his teeth and claws, the huntsman, by alternate jerks to the right and left, throws him down, and before he can recover himself, instantly plunges a poniard into his belly, and rips him up to the throat.

treated with great humanity, and adopted amongst them.

Along the frontiers of Tucuman and Chili, there are several tribes of unsubdued Indians, who bear amongst themselves the denominations of Moluches and Puelches. The former of these are distinguished by the Spaniards as Aucaes, and Araucanos. Aucaes is a nickname, or term of reproach, meaning rebels, savages, or banditti. Arauco is a district to the west of the Cordillera, the inhabitants of which have, with invariable success, resisted the Spanish arms, whence their name has been improperly extended to all the unsubdued Indians of the Chilian frontier. The Araucanos proper are governed by caciques, but the only subordination known amongst them is with regard to age, so that the oldest person of the tribe is respected as its governor. In military affairs, however, the chief command is, of course, given to the most courageous leader, subjected to the advice of the old men. Their wars against the Spaniards usually continue for some years; some intervals of peace occur, and the efforts of the missionaries have of late somewhat tended to repress their determined hostility. In the midst of their sanguinary rage against the Spaniards, they always spare the white women, who they carry off, and use them as their own. The convents for women in the Spanish towns, which they have from time to time destroyed, have supplied them with many wives, and they have been known to

attack a place, for no other motive than to carry off the nuns from some numerous community of religious devotees. Hence these Indians are remarkably white, and display a colour in the cheeks, the effect of the mixture of their descent. In time of peace many of them resort to the Spanish settlements, hiring themselves for a certain time to the planters, and return home at the expiration of that time, laying out their wages in the purchase of such goods as are valued in their country. All of them, both men and women, wear the poncho, but those who live to the south of Baldivia, and the Chonos, who live opposite the islands of Chiloe, generally go naked. All these Indians delight in riding, have excellent horses, and train them to war as well as to the chase.

Moluches signifies warriors, and the Indians who call themselves by that name may be divided into the different tribes of the Picunches, Pehuenches, and Huilliches. The Picunches are the most northern, and are so called from *picun*, which, in their language, signifies north, and *che*, men or people. The Pehuenches derive their name from *pehuen*, a pine-tree, because their country abounds in pines. These two nations were formerly very numerous; but are now scarcely able to muster four thousand fighting men. Wars, and the ravages of the small-pox, have tended to the reduction of their numbers, but the greatest havock has been occasioned by the brandy, which they buy of the Spaniards, and the *chica*,

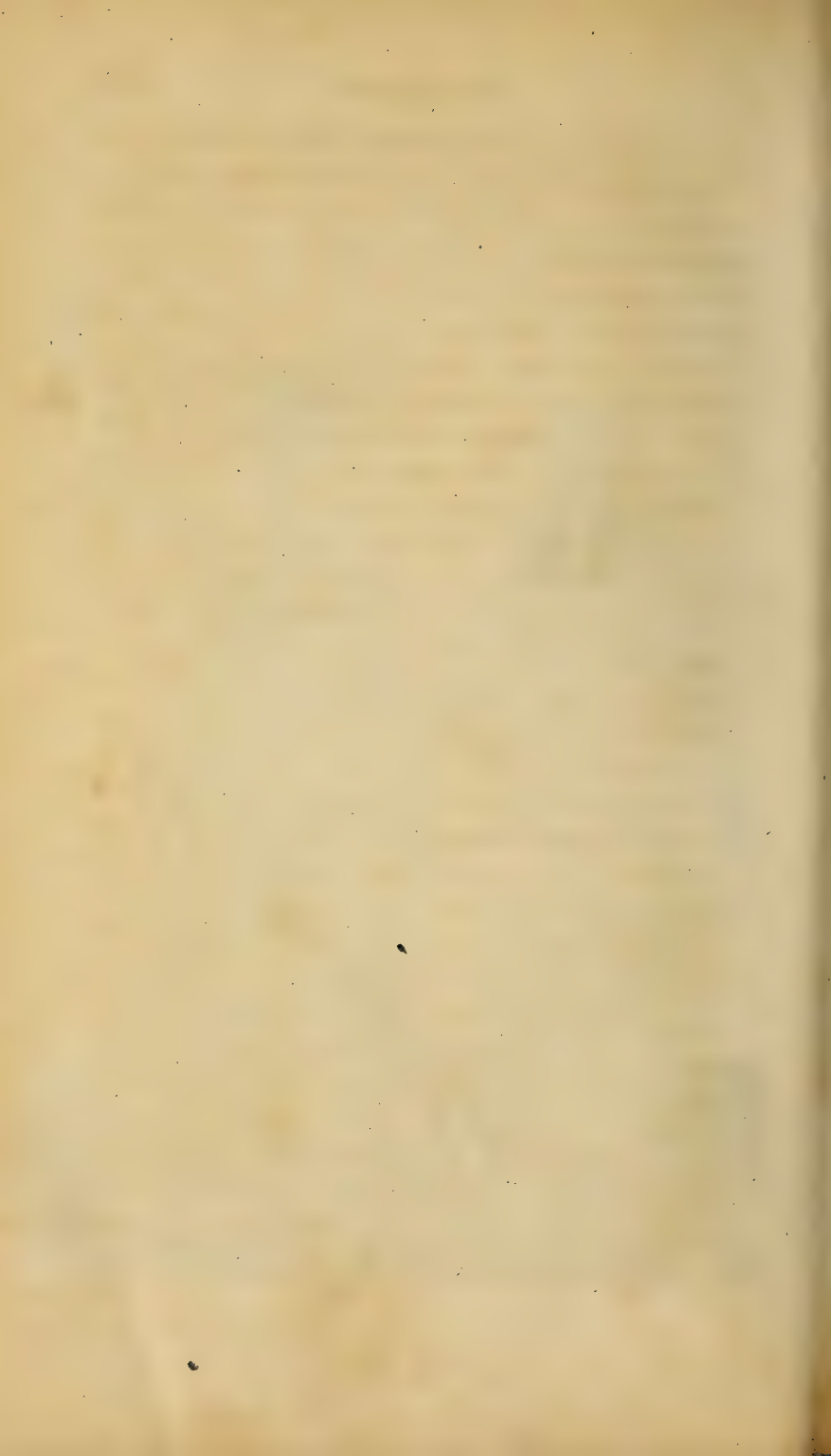
which they make themselves. The Huilliches, or southern Moluches, reach from the latitude of Baldivia to the Straits of Magellan, and are divided into four different tribes, amongst which there is one called Vuta Huilliches, from their being of a large size, and advantageous stature, vuta denoting strength.

The Puelches, or Eastern people, so called by those of Chili, from their situation to the eastward, border, to the north, on the Spanish provinces of Cuyo, Tucuman, and Buenos Ayres, and reach from the territories of the Moluches on one side, to the Atlantic on the other. They bear different denominations amongst themselves, Those to the north are called Taluhets; to the west and south of these are the Diuihets; to the south-east the Chechehets; and to the south of these last are the Tehuelhets. The two first-mentioned tribes are known to the Spaniards by the name of Pampas. They are of a roving disposition, and repeatedly attack and harrass the Spanish settlements, as well as the travellers who pass from Chili to Buenos Ayres, over the plains they inhabit. They hunt both the wild horses and the horned cattle for food; and are in general a tall and stout race of men.

The Tehuelhets are the nation that is known in Europe by the appellation of Patagons; and are split into many subdivisions. A principal tribe have a town called Huechin, on the banks of the Cusu Lenevu, or Rio Negro, the caciques of

*The Cacique Cangapel of Macchin,
and his Wife.*





which have great influence, if not commensurate authority, over almost all the Chechehets and Tehuelhets, and who, when they declare war, are also joined by the Huilliches, and by those Pehuenches who live most to the south. The Tehuelhets are a restless and roving people, whom neither extreme old age, nor blindness or disease, prevent from indulging in their wandering inclinations. They are very strong, well made, and not so tawny as the other Indians. They are courteous, obliging, and good-natured, but very inconstant. They are warlike and intrepid, and the most numerous of all the Indian nations in these parts. They are the enemies of the Moluches, and very much feared by them. They speak a different language from the other Puelches and the Moluches. As to their stature, they are a large race, and several of them are seven feet and a half in height, but these, it is asserted, are not a distinct race, but only individuals, as others in the same family do not exceed six feet.

We can not, without a charge of unreasonable scepticism, deny all credence to the accounts that have been transmitted to us, of a race of men of extraordinary stature in this portion of the globe; and although it is a judicious observation that, as animals attain the highest perfection of their species principally in mild climates, or where the most nutritive food is found in the greatest abundance, we ought not to expect to find, in the un-

cultivated wastes of the Magellanic regions, and amongst improvident savages, that man should be distinguished by a superiority of size and vigour far beyond what he has reached in any other part of the earth; yet inscrutable as are the ways of Providence, and limited as is the progress hitherto made in the natural philosophy of the globe we inhabit, no bounds can be assigned to the endless variety of phenomena which successively appear or are discovered. The man who can assign a reason why an Irish giant, or a Polish dwarf, should be born amidst nations of ordinary stature, will have solved every problem, as to the existence either of gigantic Patagonians or of pigmy Esquimaux. Undoubtedly, however, the most explicit and unexceptionable evidence is requisite, in order to establish a fact repugnant to those general principles and laws which seem to affect the human frame in every other instance. Such evidence, as far as relates to the existence of giants of from nine to sixteen feet in height, according to the diversity of relations that have been given of interviews with such men, or conclusions formed from the measurement of footsteps or discovery of skeletons, has not, however, been produced, as these accounts vary from each other in so many essential points, and are mingled with so many circumstances manifestly false or fabulous, that much is thereby detracted from their credit. But by an impartial revision of the various authorities, it appears, as an established fact, that the

usual stature of one or more tribes of Indians is from six and a half to seven and a half feet; and if we allow for the wonder with which men of so advantageous a size would necessarily be viewed by seamen and adventurers, naturally fond of the marvellous, and prone to exaggeration, as well as to the circumstance that is only by estimation, and not by measurement, often at a distance, and always uncertain, that the height is stated, no very serious difficulty will be found in reconciling the various relations to each other. It will, in fact, have appeared, in the course of this work, that a majority of the Indian nations of South America are of a large size, and extraordinary stature, increasing in bulk and height towards the south; and the Tehuelhets, none of whom are under six feet, and some approaching to eight, a wandering nation, inhabiting an extensive country, and well provided with horses, may be looked on as the Patagonians of the Straits of Magellan, incidental visitors, but not permanent inhabitants, of the shores both to the south and to the east. The comparative safety and facility of the passage round Cape Horn, has prevented any recent navigation of the Straits, and the accounts of the early navigators must stand or fall by their own intrinsic merits, till the interior of the country is more fully explored, or till some object of commercial attraction, or of political importance, arises to induce navigators to frequent the Straits of Magellan again. In the meantime the inter-

mediate system, to which a preference has been given above, acquires confirmation from the most recent visit to those regions of which any account has been made public, namely, that of a Spanish vessel, dispatched by the court of Spain, to survey the Straits in 1785 and 1786.*

At their first interview with the Patagonians, one of them, who called himself Francisco Xavier, who had had intercourse with the Spanish colonists of Rio de la Plata, and spoke a little Spanish, was measured, and found to be six feet and eleven and a half inches in height. The tribe they then met with appeared to consist of between four and five hundred men and children, for they saw no women. They were all on horseback; and had many dogs. The indifference with which they left their horses, their arms, and little effects, unguarded, or in the care of each other, was considered as a proof of the good faith that existed amongst themselves; and though it was evident that their communication with the Spanish settlements was neither difficult nor unfrequent, they did not seem to have acquired the bad habits which an intercourse with European colonists too often gives rise to amongst savages. Xavier had a poncho, which was conjectured to be of Spanish manufacture, with the addition of a cloak of guanaco-skins, sewn together, and exactly similar to those that are brought for sale

* *Relacion del ultimo viage al estrecho de Magallanes de la fregatta de S. M. Santa Maria de la Cabeza. Madrid, 1788.*

by the Indians to Buenos Ayres. He had also a cutlass or machete, inscribed in Spanish *por el rey Carlos III.* Several of the others had the noose, or lace and balls,* weapons well known in that province. They are described as extremely friendly and familiar, eating, drinking, and smoking tobacco, with their visitors with the greatest cordiality.

They met with another body of Patagonians, all also mounted on horses, and followed by many dogs, and amongst whom there were several women; but they also met, towards the centre of the Straits, and particularly at Port Famine, with those miserable, shivering, and naked savages, who have been described by the name of Pecherais, from a word in their language which they are constantly repeating, and who do not at all exceed the usual stature of man. The moral and physical differences between these two races of men is striking, but need not here form any particular object of comparison, the Pecherais being far distant from the province

* The catch-rope or noose has before been described; the balls, which are of heavy stone, are connected by a leathern thong of suitable length, they are three in number, two of them three inches, and the other, two inches in diameter. The hunter takes the small ball in his right hand, and swings the other two round his head till he has taken a proper aim, and they have acquired sufficient velocity, he then throws them at the legs of the animal he is pursuing, two of which they immediately entangle by their rotatory motion, and bind them close together, after which the capture is easy; but the danger of laming the animal is great, and they are seldom therefore used to catch horses.

of Buenos Ayres, whilst, on the other hand, the Patagonians, from their migratory disposition, and abundance of horses, are occasional visitors of the vicinity of Buenos Ayres, of the Chilian frontier, and of the Straits of Magellan.

From the actual and exact measurement of the Spanish officers of the above-mentioned expedition, the tallest of the Patagonians they met with did not exceed seven feet and one inch and a quarter, but their general height was from six and a half to seven feet. All of them were robust and muscular; of no disagreeable countenance, although their heads were rather large in proportion, their eyes were lively, and they had teeth extremely white. A few of them were observed to have beards, but they were neither large nor bushy. Upon the whole, the appearance, dress, and character of these Patagonians is described as very similar to the Tehuelhets of the Rio Negro; so much so as to leave no doubt of their being the same people.*

The Moluches, as well as all the Puelches, believe in two superior principles, the one good and the

* A passage occurs in the Spanish narrative of this voyage, which indicates the establishment of some new settlements by the Spaniards in the southern part of the continent, with which we are wholly unacquainted. From various circumstances, a constant intercourse was thought to exist between these Indians and the Spanish colonies of Buenos Ayres and Chili; *and more particularly with those lately formed on the coast of Patagonia.* A correct knowledge of these will probably soon be acquired, in consequence of our possession of Buenos Ayres.

other evil. The good power is called by the Moluches *Toquichen*, or governor of men; by the Taluhets and Diuihets, *Soychu*, signifying the being who presides in the land of strong drink; and the Tehuelhets call him *Guayava-cunnee*, or the lord of the dead. But this power or principle is subdivided into a multiplicity of deities, each of whom is supposed to preside over one particular caste or family of Indians, of whom he is supposed to have been the creator. They imagine that each of them has a separate habitation, in vast caverns under the earth, beneath some lake, hill or forest, and that when an Indian dies, his soul goes to live with the deity of his particular family, there to enjoy the happiness of being eternally drunk. They believe that their good deities made the world, and that they first created the Indians in their caves, gave them the lance, the bow and arrows, to fight and hunt with, and then turned them out to shift for themselves. They imagine that the deities of the Spaniards did the same by them, but that instead of lances, bows, &c. they gave them guns and swords. They suppose that when the beasts, birds, and lesser animals were created, those of the more nimble kind came immediately out of their caves, but that the bulls and cows being the last, the Indians were so frightened at the sight of their horns, that they stopped up the entrance of their caves with great stones; which is the reason they assign why they had no horned cattle in their

country till the Spaniards brought them over, who, more wisely, had let them out of the caves.

From the evil principle it is, they say, that the great number of demons, which they suppose are constantly wandering about the earth, proceed. To these they attribute every evil that befalls either man or beast. Each of their wizards is supposed to have two of these demons in constant attendance, who enable them to foretel future events, to discover what is passing at a great distance, and to cure the sick by combating or appeasing the other demons who torment them. They believe that the souls of their wizards after death become demons. Their worship is entirely directed to the evil being, except in some particular ceremonies made use of in reverence to the dead.

The profession of their wizards is very dangerous, notwithstanding the respect that is sometimes paid to them: for it often happens, when an Indian chief dies, that some of the wizards are killed, especially if they had any dispute with the deceased just before his death. In cases also of epidemic disorders, when great numbers are carried off, the wizards often suffer. On account of the small-pox, which had almost entirely destroyed the Chechehets, the cacique Cangapol ordered all the wizards to be put to death, to try if by that means the distemper, which was attributed to the wizards and their demons, would cease. The wizards are of both sexes, but all go

dressed in female apparel. They are generally chosen to this office when they are children, and a preference is always shewn to such as discover an effeminate disposition. They are clothed very early in the dress of, and presented with the drum and rattles belonging to, the profession they are to follow.

The burials of their dead, and the superstitious reverence paid to their memory, are attended with great ceremony. When an Indian dies, a woman is immediately chosen to make a skeleton of his body; the entrails and flesh are burned, and the bones are buried till the remaining flesh is wholly consumed, or till they are removed (which must be within a year after the interment, but is sometimes within two months), to the proper burial-place of their ancestors. This custom is strictly observed by the Moluches, Taluhets, and Diuihets; but the Chechehets and Tehuelhets, or Patagonians, place the bones on high, upon canes and twigs woven together, to dry and whiten in the sun and rain. During the time that the ceremony of making the skeleton lasts, some of the Indians, covered with long mantles of skins, and their faces blackened with soot, walk round the tent with long poles or lances, singing in a mournful tone of voice, and striking the ground to frighten away the demons; whilst others go to visit and console the widow or widows and other relations of the deceased. The horses of the dead are also immediately killed, that they may have the means of riding in the

Alhue Mapu, or country of the dead; a few only being reserved to grace the last funeral pomp, and to carry the relics to their proper sepulchres.

Widows are obliged to mourn and fast for a whole year after the death of their husbands. This consists in keeping themselves close shut up in their tents, without having communication with any one, or stirring out but for the common necessities of life, in not washing their faces or hands; in being blackened with soot; and in abstaining from the flesh of horses, horned cattle, ostriches, and guanacoës. They are forbidden to marry again during the year of mourning; and if a widow be discovered to have had any connection with a man during that time, the relations of her dead husband may kill them both, unless it appears that she has been violated. But the men are not obliged to any such mourning on the death of their wives.

The Moluches, Taluhets, and Diuihets, bury their dead in large square pits about a fathom deep. The bones are put together, and each tied in its proper place; the skeleton is clothed in the best robes that can be got, and adorned with beads, feathers, &c. all of which they cleanse or change once a year. They are placed in a row, sitting, with the sword, lance, bow and arrows, bowls, and whatever else the deceased had whilst alive. These pits are covered over with trunks of trees and canes or twigs woven together, upon which earth is put. An old woman is chosen out of each

petty community to take care of these graves, and is held in great veneration on account of her employment. Her office is to open these dreary habitations every year, and to clothe and clean the skeletons. These burial-places are, in general, not far from their habitations, and around them are placed the bodies of their dead horses, raised upon their feet, and supported by stakes. But the Tehuelhets, after having dried the bones of their dead, carry them to a great distance from their habitations into the desert by the sea-coast. When they are removed, they are packed up together in a hide, and placed upon one of the favourite horses of the deceased, kept alive for that purpose, and adorned with mantles, feathers, &c. The distance to which these bones are thus carried is sometimes six or seven hundred miles. The skeletons, when put together and adorned in the manner just described, are then set in order above ground, under a hut or tent erected for that purpose, with the skeletons of their dead horses placed around them.

Their marriages are made by sale, the husband buying his wife of her nearest relations. They often agree for their wives, and pay part of the price of them, when they are very young, and many years before they are marriageable. Every Indian may have as many wives as he can buy or keep, yet few have more than one, except the caciques. Widows and orphans are at their own disposal, and may accept of whom they please;

the others are obliged to abide by the sale. Little or no ceremony is used in their marriages. The husband takes away his wife from her parents as his own property ; and the following morning she is visited by her relations before the time of rising, when being found in bed together, the marriage is considered as concluded. But as many of these marriages are compulsive on the side of the woman, they are frequently frustrated. The contumacy of the woman sometimes tires out the patience of the man, who then turns her away, or sells her to the person on whom she has fixed her affections, but seldom beats her, or treats her ill. The women, when they have once accepted their husbands, are in general very faithful and laborious. Indeed their lives are but one continued scene of labour, and they are forced to submit to every species of drudgery. No excuse of sickness or pregnancy will relieve them from the appointed labour ; and so rigidly are they obliged to perform their duty, that their husbands can not help them on any occasion, or in the greatest distress, without incurring the highest ignominy. Although their marriages are at will, yet, when once the parties are agreed, and have children, they seldom forsake each other, even in extreme old age. The husband protects his wife from all injuries, and always takes her part, even if she is in the wrong, which occasions frequent quarrels and bloodshed ; but this partiality does not prevent him from reprimanding her in private for engaging

him in these disputes. He seldom beats her; and if he catches her in any criminal intercourse, he lays all the blame on the gallant, whom he corrects with great severity, unless he atones for the injury by some valuable present.

The Moluches maintain some flocks of sheep for their wool, and sow a small quantity of corn; but the Puelches depend entirely on the chase, for which purpose they keep great numbers of dogs. The dress of these Indians is remarkable, and mostly alike. The men wear their hair tied up behind, and bound many times about the head with a long fillet of dyed woollen stuff curiously wrought. They wear mantles of skins sewed together, sometimes of the skins of young colts, which are the least esteemed; sometimes of otter or other skins; mostly, however, of guanacocks, which are in great estimation on account of the warmth and fineness of the wool, and their long duration; but those which are in the highest esteem of all are made with the skins of small foxes, which are exceedingly soft and beautiful; they are of a mottled grey colour, but are not so durable as those of the guanaco. They also make or weave (the Tahuelhets and Chechehets excepted) fine mantles of woollen yarn, beautifully dyed with many colours, which reach from the shoulders to the calf of the leg. They have another of the same kind round the waist, and, besides these, a small three-cornered leather apron. They likewise make mantles of red stuffs which they buy

of the Spaniards, of whom they also purchase hats, which they are fond of wearing, especially on horseback. They adorn themselves with sky-coloured beads round their necks and wrists. They also paint their faces, sometimes red and sometimes black. When on horseback, they use the poncho, which they adorn with a great variety of figures. Their defensive arms consist of a helmet, made like a broad-brimmed hat, of a bull's hide sewed double, and of a wide tunic shaped and put on like a shirt, with narrow short sleeves, made of three or four folds of the anta's skin: it is very heavy, and strong enough to resist either arrows or lances. On foot, they sometimes use a large unwieldy square target of bull's hides. Their offensive arms are a short bow, and arrows pointed with bone, and a lance four or five yards in length, pointed with iron, and made of a solid cane that grows near the Cordilleras, with many joints about four or five inches from one another. They have also swords when they can get them from the Spaniards; but they are in general very scarce. The balls mentioned before* form a weapon which they manage with admirable dexterity. They are generally made of the heaviest stones they can get, made round by friction. They are swung with unerring aim, and thrown with such dexterity as to fasten a man to his horse, and to entangle the feet of any animal.

* See note page 443. The use of them is not peculiar to the southern Indians, but prevails also amongst the Brazilians.

The women wear nothing on the head, but have their long hair plaited in two large tresses, which hang down on each side. They have ear-rings or pendants of square brass plates, and strings of sky-blue beads round their necks, arms, and ancles. They have the same kind of mantle as the men, which they fasten before with a brass skewer or pin. They have also a short apron tied about the middle under the mantle, and reaches a little below the knee. This is woven of dyed yarn, and striped longitudinally with different colours. When they ride, they use a straw hat, of a broad, low, conical figure. Both sexes wear boots or stockings made of the skins of horses legs, which, when flayed, are dried, softened with grease, made pliant by wringing, and put on without either shaping or sewing.

CHAP. XI.

Natural History—Domestic Animals—Lama—Guanaco—Paco—Vicuma—Wild Beasts—Puma—Jaguar—Cougar—Yaguaru—Anta—Tapi—Pecari—Armadillos, &c.—Birds—Emu—Condor—Vulture, &c.—Fishes—Dorado—Packu, &c.—Amphibious—Insects—Sustillo—Bees—Snakes, &c.—Vegetable Productions—Timber—Trees—Fruits—Paraguay Tea—Coca—Bejucos, &c.

THE natural history of the extensive regions under consideration in this work, would alone be sufficient to fill several volumes. In every department of that science, the variety and the abundance of objects that present themselves, are such as to excite astonishment and admiration. In natural history, South America is also fertile in prodigies; and many of the most remarkable productions of nature are exclusively to be found in that portion of the new continent. Amidst this bewildering variety, it is necessary, therefore, to confine the descriptions in this chapter to such productions or animals as are of more peculiar interest. In addition to this, it may be observed, that the accounts we have of many of them, are rendered very defective, from the incomplete and unscientific manner in which they have been successively given to the world. Hence no attempt

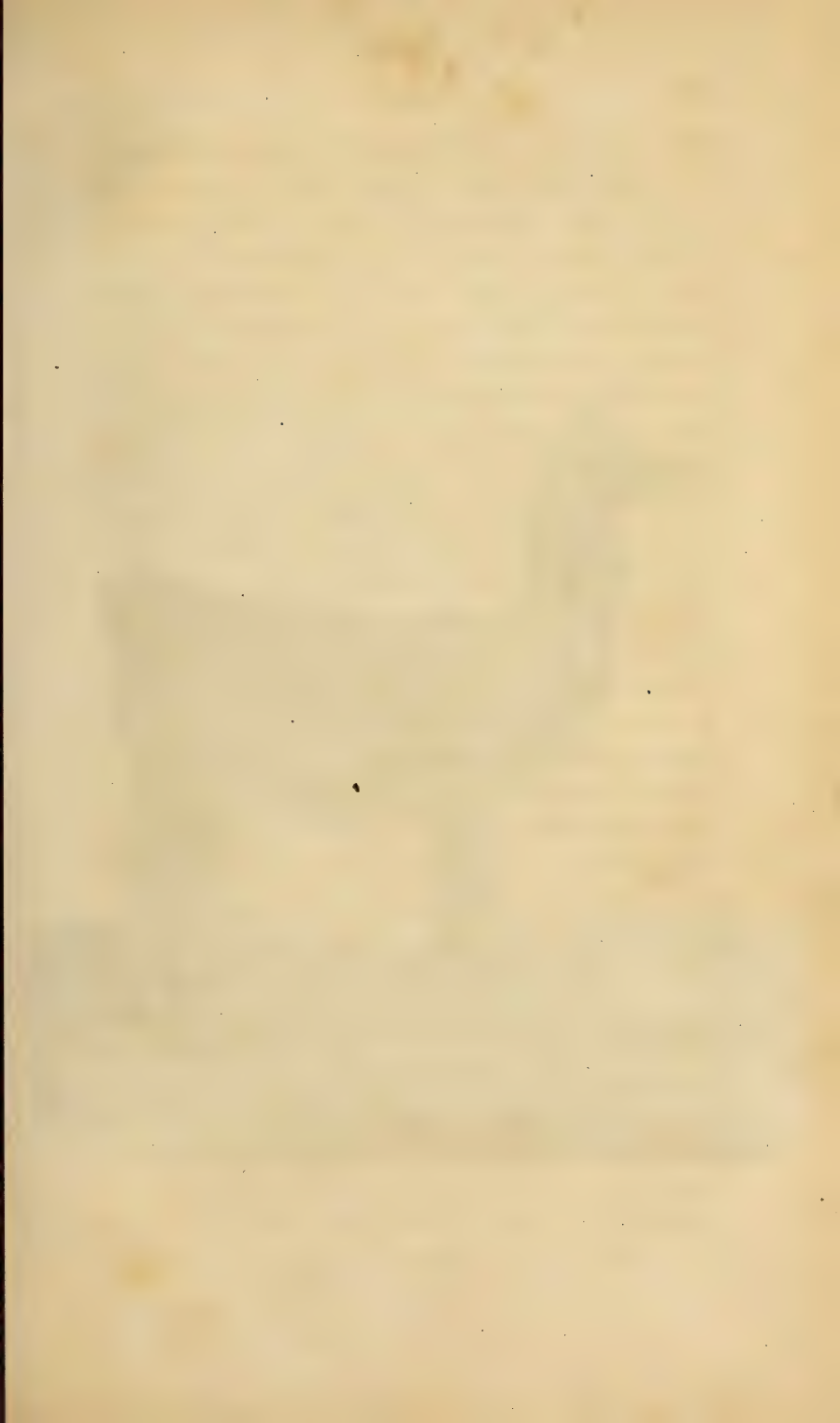
at scientific classification will be made, or other order observed, than the grand divisions of nature.

It has been asserted, that not only the quadrupeds of the new world are inferior in size to those of the old continent, but that also those which have been transported thither from Europe have degenerated. The latter has not, however, any foundation in truth, as a general axiom; for the horses and horned cattle of South America are neither less in size than, nor degraded in their respective qualities from, those of Europe whence they sprung. The horses are spirited, beautiful, and swift, never used, however, except, for the saddle, all carriages being drawn by oxen. Their walk is so quick, and their steps so long, that in walking they equal an European horse in trotting. Their step consists in raising exactly, and at the same instant, both the fore and the hind foot, and instead of placing the latter on the spot where the fore foot had rested, they carry it much farther, which nearly doubles the rapidity of their motion, and is much more easy for the rider. The horned cattle differ in nothing from those of Europe. Their great numbers, both in a domestic and in a wild state, are a source of incalculable benefit to the country. Asses, mules, and European sheep, are likewise very numerous.

Besides the horses and horned cattle, who have so amazingly multiplied in the plains of South America, great numbers of wild dogs are met

with, who have descended from those of a domestic kind that have left their masters, in pursuit of the abundant provision of game to be met with here. They attack and kill numbers of the wild cattle; they live under ground in holes, which may easily be discovered by the quantity of bones heaped around them. Their great numbers, and their ravages, occasioned one of the governors of Buenos Ayres to send out some soldiers to destroy them, who killed a great number; but these men being insulted on their return, and called *mata-perros*, or dog-killers, the shame which thence attached to this species of hunting has prevented it from being renewed.

Amongst the domestic animals must be reckoned the Lama and the Paco, both natives of the mountainous parts of Peru, and inhabiting the higher districts of Tucuman, and the provinces of Los Charcas and Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Considerable confusion has been introduced in the nomenclature of these species of animals; and it is difficult to decide whether the lama, the guanaco, the chilibueque, and the guemul; the vicunna, the paco, and the alpaque; are distinct species, varieties of the same species, or different names bestowed upon the same animal. It seems probable, however, that the opinion of Buffon, that there are in reality but two species, namely the guanaco and the vicunna, is well founded; and that their different habits and appearances, when in a wild or in a domestic state, have occasioned the several





The Lama of South America .

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appellations above enumerated. There are examples in every language of two different names being applied to the same animal, one of which has a relation to its wild, and the other to its domestic state. It is thus with respect to these animals; the wild lama is called guanaco, and the wild paco, vicunna. Chilibueque, or Chilian sheep, appears to be the name of the domestic lama in Chili, as guemul seems to be that of the tame paco, whilst alpaque is a denomination to a variety of the paco of a black colour. It is not yet ascertained whether the lama and the paco are two species absolutely separate from each other, whether they mix together, or whether there are any intermediate breeds, together with a number of other facts, necessary to render their history complete.

The lamas* are in great numbers; they constitute the principal riches of the Indians, and do not add a little to the wealth of the Spaniards. Their flesh is excellent food, their wool is highly useful, and they are capable of carrying heavy burthens in the most rugged and dangerous roads. They will carry from one hundred and fifty to two

*An accurate representation of the lama is given, drawn from a living individual, now in Mr. Brookes's menagerie in Piccadilly. It will be found much superior to any hitherto engraved. It has been supposed, that they could not be brought to Europe, or even to any considerable distance from their native heights; but the above is an example to the contrary, and it is also certain, that several of them were brought to Europe soon after the conquest of Peru.

hundred pounds weight on their backs; their pace is slow, and they seldom travel more than fifteen miles a day, but they are sure-footed, descend precipices, and journey with safety amongst the most craggy mountains, where even men can scarcely accompany them. They usually travel for five days together, and then they are obliged to rest, which they do of their own accord, for two or three days before they resume their journey. The growth of the lama is very quick, and its life is of short duration. They copulate at three years of age, and remain strong and vigorous till twelve, after which they decline, and become entirely useless by fifteen. They are gentle and phlegmatic, and do every thing with the greatest leisure and caution. When they stop to rest, they bend their knees very carefully, and rise with the same precaution, never disordering their load. They feed as they go along, on the grass they meet with, but never eat in the night, when they lie down to ruminate. They rest with their legs folded under their bellies. They do not make any defence when struck, either with their feet or teeth; but they throw out a saliva, which, it is said, they can eject to the distance of ten paces, and is of an acrimonious nature, causing very dangerous cutaneous eruptions where it touches.

The lama is about four feet high; the body, including the neck, is five or six feet long. The neck is like that of the camel, to which animal it bears a great resemblance, excepting the bunch on the back. The head is small and well-propor-

tioned; the eyes large, the nose somewhat long, the lips thick, the upper one being divided, and the under one a little pendulous. There are neither incisive nor canine teeth in the upper jaw. The ears are four inches in length, and are moved with great agility. The tail is short and bushy, a little turned up at the end. The foot is cloven, and has a spur behind, which assists the animal in supporting himself over precipices and along rugged ways. The wool on the back and crupper is short, but it is very long on the belly and sides. These animals differ in colour; some are white, others black, and some of an ash colour, but most of them are of a mixed brown. The genital members of the male are slender and turned back, so that he urines backwards; they are much inclined to venery, though they copulate with difficulty. The female has a very small aperture; she prostrates herself to receive the male; but a whole day is sometimes passed before they can accomplish their purpose, and all the time is spent in growling, quarrelling, and spitting at each other. They seldom produce more than one at a time. The female has but two teats. The flesh of the young lamas is excellent food, but that of the old ones is dry and tough. Their skin is strong; the Indians make shoes, and the Spaniards harness of it. These useful animals are attended with no expense; as they are cloven-footed, they do not require to be shod, and their wool renders saddles unnecessary. Satisfied with a small portion of

vegetables and grass, particularly the reedy grass, called ichu, they want neither corn nor hay ; and they are still more moderate in their drink, as their mouths are constantly moistened with saliva, of which they have a greater quantity than any other animal.

The guanacos, or wild lamas, are stronger, brisker, and swifter, than the domestic ones ; they run like stags, and climb over the most rugged precipices, like goats ; their wool is shorter, and their colour tawny. They are gregarious, and assemble in large herds from one to five hundred in number. When they see any of the human species they regard him at first with astonishment, without shewing any fear or surprise ; but shortly, as if by common consent, they blow through their nostrils, neigh like horses, and then, by a general flight, take refuge on the tops of the mountains. They are fonder of the north than of the south side of the hills. They often remain in the snowy parts of the mountains ; they seem in best condition when travelling on the snow, and appear more vigorous in proportion to the coldness of their situation. The natives hunt them principally for the sake of the fleece, but it is not so valuable, nor the wool of so fine a texture as that of the domestic lama. Dogs have much trouble to follow them, and if they gain the tops of the mountains, both hunters and dogs must desist from the pursuit. Whilst they are grazing they place a centinel on an emi-

nence, who alarms the herd upon the approach of the hunters.

The Paco, or vicunna (the one its domesticated, the other its wild denomination) is a species of animal subordinate to the lama, much in the same proportion as the ass is to the horse. They are not so serviceable as beasts of burthen, but their fleeces are more useful. Their wool is fine and long, and is a valuable article of merchandize, being called vicunna-wool, from the name they principally go by. The natural colour of it is that of a dried rose leaf, which is so permanent that it undergoes no alteration under the hands of the manufacturer*. The genial warmth which accompanies every kind of clothing manufactured from the wool, which is at the same time most beautifully silky and light, makes it highly useful, and it will, no doubt, now become more generally known and used in this country than it possibly could be before the capture of Buenos Ayres. The pacos possess many things in common with the lamas; they are of the same disposition, manners, and nearly of the same temperament; they resemble them in figure, being, however, smaller, their legs shorter, and their muzzles thicker and closer. They inhabit and pasture on the highest parts of the mountains. Snow and ice seem rather to re-

* Vicunna-wool is the principal material in the present fashionable manufacture, which is honoured with the name of Georgiana stuff, from the beautiful duchess of Bedford, and which not being dyed is of the natural colour of the wool as described above.

fresh than to be inconvenient to them. They keep together in flocks, and run very swiftly. They are very timid, and take flight as soon as they perceive any person. The ancient monarchs of Peru prohibited the hunting of them, because they multiply very slowly ; but since the Spaniards have been in possession of the country their numbers are very much decreased. Their flesh is not so good as that of the guanacos, and they are only sought after for their fleeces and the bezoars they produce. The hunters contrive to drive a flock of them into a narrow passage, across which cords have been stretched about four feet from the ground with a number of linen or woollen rags hanging to them. The animals are so intimidated at the sight of these rags, agitated by the wind, that they stop, and, crowding together, great numbers are killed with ease. But if there happen to be any guanacos among the flock, as they are less timid than the pacos, they leap over the cords ; and their example is immediately followed by the whole groupe, who then escape from their pursuers. The domestic pacos are employed to carry burthens, like the lamas ; but they carry much less weight even in proportion to their size, They are also of a very stubborn nature, and when once they lie down with their load, will suffer themselves to be cut to pieces rather than rise. The Indians never use the milk of these animals, as they have scarcely enough to supply their own young. When in a domestic state many of them are black,

and are called alpaques. The great profit derived from their wool induced the Spaniards to endeavour to naturalize them in their European dominions; but the climate not agreeing with their nature, not one of those that were transported to Old Spain lived. Those who brought them into Spain did not consider that they cannot exist even in Peru, but in the cold regions, that is on the tops of the highest mountains; that they are never to be found in the vallies, and die if brought into warm countries. Consequently, in order to preserve them in Europe, they should be landed in Scotland, or Norway, in the mountains of which countries it is probable they might be reared.

These animals all produce Bezoar-stones, the wild guanacos and vicunnas yield them of larger size and better quality than the domestic lamas and pacos. Those produced in a state of slavery are small, black, and of little value. The best bezoars are of a dark green colour, and are found in the wild vicunnas, especially in those who feed in the snow on the tops of the mountains. Of these, both the male and female produce bezoars. These Peruvian bezoars are next in estimation to the oriental, and rank higher than those of New Spain, which are produced by stags, and are the least efficacious of any.

Amongst the wild animals of South America, lions, tigers, and bears, are enumerated: but of species dissimilar from those of the old continent, less ferocious, weaker, and comparatively diminu-

tive. When the Europeans first discovered America, almost every animal of the new world appeared to be different from what they had seen before, and it was therefore necessary to give names to the principal ones. As those given them by the natives were barbarous and difficult to pronounce or remember, names were borrowed from the European languages; and a small affinity in external appearance was sufficient to attribute to unknown objects the names of those that were familiar. Naturalists have, however, since discriminated the species; and the lions and tigers of ancient travellers have received the distinctive appellations of puma, jaguar, and cougar. The bears, indeed, that inhabit some of the mountains of the Cordillera have not been described with sufficient accuracy to decide whether they are of the same kind as those of North America, or a separate and more diminutive species.

The puma, or American lion, is much smaller than that of Africa and Asia, and the male has no mane. They avoid the sight of man, and commit no havoc but amongst the cattle. Their heads are formed in an intermediate resemblance to those of the wolf and the tiger, and they have tails shorter than either. In colour they are in general grey, but in Chaco their fur is red and very long. They climb up trees for safety, are cowardly, and fly from the barking of a dog. They are, however, very scarce in the parts inhabited by the Spaniards.

They are sometimes caught and kept in cages by the Indians.

Of the American tigers there are two kinds, the Jaguar and the Cougar. The former resembles the ounce in size, and also in the form of the spots on its skin, and in disposition. The ground of its colour is a bright yellow. Its tail is shorter than that of the panther or the leopard; its hair is longer than the panther's, but shorter than that of the ounce; it is frizzled when he is young, but smooth when at full growth. Though its size is seldom above that of an ordinary dog, it is nevertheless a most formidable and cruel animal. Yet when his appetite is gorged, a single dog will put him to flight, and he also is afraid of a lighted brand. Although its general size is said to be only that of an ordinary dog, M. Sonini de Manoncour had the skin of one which measured nearly five feet from the nose to the tail, which was two feet long, and from the tracts he saw, he concluded that the American tigers were as large as any others, except the royal tiger*. They commit great devastations amongst the flocks. All the animals of the new continent fly from the jaguar, not being able to withstand his power; the only one capable of making any tolerable resistance is the ant-eater, who, on being attacked, turns on his back,

* The Rev. Mr. Gregory, one of the English missionaries, captured in the Duff, purchased at Montevideo, from an Indian hunter, and brought with him to England, a tiger-skin, which measured eight feet in length, exclusive of the tail.

and often preserves himself by the strength of his long claws.

The Cougar is longer, but less thick than the jaguar; he has a small head, long tail, and short hair, nearly of one colour, a lively red, intermixed with some black tints, particularly on the back. He is neither marked with stripes like the tiger, nor with spots like the panther, ounce, or leopard. The chin, neck, and all the lower parts of the body, are white or whitish. Though not so strong as the jaguar, he is as fierce, and perhaps more cruel; yet he is easily tamed, and rendered nearly as familiar as domestic animals. When glutted with prey, he is both indolent and cowardly. There is reason to believe, that the animal described by some travellers, under the name of Ocorome, is the same as the cougar. It is necessary, when travelling in the woods, to light fires, in order to keep off both jaguars and cougars, who are equally afraid of fire.

Yaguaru, an Indian name, signifying water-tiger, is the appellation given to a kind of amphibious animal, inhabiting the river Parana, which is very seldom seen, and of which no accurate description has been given. It is vaguely described as being of the size of an ass, with a head like a wolf, and stiff, erect ears, sharp talons, and strong tusks, thick and short legs, long shaggy hair, and a long tapering tail. It is always, when seen, found lying on a bank near the river, whence, on hearing the least noise, it immediately plunges

into the water. It is very destructive to the cattle on the banks of the river; when it has once seized its prey, it is seen no more, and the lungs and entrails are soon seen floating on the water. It lives in the deepest parts, particularly in the eddies or whirlpools formed by the confluence of two streams, and it sleeps in the deep caverns along the banks.

The Anta or Danta is another animal of which naturalists have given no description. It is frequent in the forests and in the plains of Paraguay, but has been so much hunted for its skin, as well as for its flesh, that it is scarce in Tucuman and Buenos Ayres. It is of a kind between the elk and the buffalo, but is without horns. It is of the size of a large ass; its head long and tapering, ending in a small trunk, which it extends or contracts at pleasure. The body is very strong and broad at the shoulders and haunches. The legs are long, and shaped like those of the stag, but stronger. The feet are cloven, and some accounts say that the fore feet are cloven in two, and the hind feet in three. The tail is short, and like that of a deer. The strength of this animal is wonderful, being able to drag a pair of horses after it, whilst one horse is sufficient to take a wild bull. When pursued, he opens his way through the thickest woods and coppices, breaking down every thing that hinders him. No attempts have been made to tame this animal, though he is by no means fierce, and does no mischief but to the

plantations. He is a grazing and ruminating animal, and, if domesticated, might be of great service, on account of his strength. In the stomach are found bezoar-stones, which are in great estimation. The flesh is very wholesome, and differs from beef in nothing than being more light and delicate. The skin, which is covered with long brown hair, is so stout, that, when dressed, it is said to be even proof against fire-arms.*

The Peccari, or Mexican hog, is found in some parts of Paraguay, the principal characteristic of which is a vent or opening on the crupper, from which an ichorous humour of a very disagreeable smell is discharged, and which proceeds from large glands in the back. This animal might easily be rendered domestic like the common hog; he has nearly the same habits and natural inclinations, feeds upon the same aliments, and his flesh, though more dry and lean, is not unpalatable, and might be improved by castration. When killed, not only the parts of generation (as is also done with the wild boar) must be instantly taken away, but also the glands at the aperture in the back, and which are common to both male and female; for if this operation be deferred for only half an hour, the flesh is so completely infected,

* An animal of this kind is said to have been lately brought to England, as a present to earl Fitzwilliam. A faithful drawing, and an accurate description of it, would be an acceptable present to the lovers of natural history.

that it becomes wholly unfit to be eaten. This opening has been erroneously supposed to be the navel of the animal.

The Tapir, though most abundant in Brazil, is also found on the banks of the Parana and Paraguay. It is of the size of a small cow, but has neither horns nor tail. It is of a dark brown colour; the head thick and long, with a kind of trunk like the rhinoceros. It is a dull and gloomy animal, and never stirs out but at night. It delights in the water, and chiefly lives in the marshes and along the borders of lakes and rivers. The tapir does not, however, feed on fish, but on plants and roots. He is of a mild and timid nature, and flies from every attack or danger. His legs are short, and his body heavy, yet he runs swiftly, and swims still better than he runs. His skin is of a very firm texture, and so strong as often to resist a bullet. The flesh is coarse and insipid, but is eaten by the Indians. Tapirs are gregarious, and go in large companies.

Tatoos, or Armadillos, are very numerous all over South America, which is their native and exclusive clime. There are several different kinds, of various sizes, and diversity of armature. Instead of hair, they are covered with a testaceous crust, which extends over the back, head, and tail; the throat, breast, and belly having a white grainy skin like that of a plucked fowl, though some have hair on those parts. The crust is not in one piece, but divided into several bands,

joined to each other by membranes. These animals can all contract themselves into a round form with more or less facility. They are innocent and harmless, except in gardens. They walk quickly, but can neither leap, run, nor climb up trees, so that they cannot escape from those that pursue them; they have then no resource but to hide themselves in their holes, or, if at too great a distance from them, to dig one before they are overtaken, for which they require but a few moments, the mole not being more expert in digging the earth. When in their burrows, they may be forced out by smoking them, or letting water run down their holes. They only come out of their holes at night to seek their food. The armadillo is hunted by small dogs, by whom he is soon overtaken, but before they reach him, he always contracts himself, in which condition he is seized and carried off. If near the brink of a precipice, he escapes both dogs and hunters, for, contracting, he rolls himself down like a ball, without any hurt or prejudice to his coat of mail. They are also easily taken with snares laid for them on the banks of rivers, and in marshy places. These animals are fat, and their flesh is reckoned as good as that of a sucking pig. They are very prolific; the male has exterior signs of great generative faculties, and the female brings forth every four months.

The Paca is an animal that digs itself a burrow like a rabbit. It has a larger body than the

hare, and is more compact. The head is round, and the snout short. It is fat and bulky, and its flesh is very good to eat. A perpetual war is therefore carried on against these animals; but hunters find it very difficult to take them alive, for when they are surprised in their burrows, which have two openings, they defend themselves, and bite with great rage and inveteracy. They are, however, easily domesticated, and are then very gentle and tractable. They bring forth very often, and in great numbers; men, and animals of prey, destroy large quantities of them, and yet the species does not diminish.

The Chinna is an animal about the size of a rabbit, but in figure resembling a little dog. This animal enters the houses in the country, eats whatever it finds, and roves about amongst the dogs, who do not disturb it no more than their masters, for they all fear and respect it, though it does no harm either with its teeth or claws. The circumstance which places it in security is, that it has a little bladder, at the root of the tail near the anus, which contains an excessively foetid liquor, which it darts against those who attack it, and the smell of which is said to be so infectious as to render a chamber uninhabitable for ever, if but one drop happens to fall in it. The Zorillo is another species of stinkard, or polecat, the fur of which is in some request.

These are the most remarkable amongst the quadrupeds of these regions, besides which there

are two or three kinds of foxes, rabbits, deer, goats, &c. also raccoons, and both the agouti and coati.

Of birds, that which occupies the first place is the Emu, which is generally called the ostrich of South America. It is inferior in size to no bird but the ostrich, to which all travellers seem to have been more desirous of approximating its affinities, than in pointing out its peculiarities. These birds were formerly much more numerous, but as population increased, and settlements extended, these timid animals have fled from the vicinity of the habitations of men. The emu is generally six feet high measuring from the head to the feet. The legs are three feet long, and the thighs are nearly as thick as those of a man. Their toes differ from those of the ostrich; they have three upon each foot, whereas the latter has only one. The emu has a long neck, small head, and the bill flattened like that of the ostrich, but in other respects it more resembles the cassowary. The wings are very short, and it has not any tail. The back and rump are covered with long feathers, which fall backward and cover the anus. These feathers are grey upon the back and white upon the belly. It is very swift, and is assisted in its pace by a kind of tubercle behind, upon which, on plain ground, it treads very securely. It runs with such swiftness, that the fleetest dogs are thrown out in the pursuit. Various tales have been related of the

manner in which the eggs of the emu are hatched. The following appears to be the most singular mode of hatching that ever was adopted; it is related by a late intelligent traveller (Helms), that, in crossing the Pampas, about fifty of their eggs were brought out of the long grass, and each of the party having put one in his hat, the heat of the sun being very great, the young birds, to the no small astonishment of the travellers, broke the shells and ran away into the grass, which they began to devour with a great appetite. The young ones, when hatched, are of the size of a chicken two months old. They are so familiar, that they will follow the first person they meet, and are very harmless and simple, but as they grow older, they become more cunning and distrustful. The flesh of the emu is in general good to be eaten, especially when young; and it would not be a difficult matter to rear up tame flocks of them, particularly as they are naturally so familiar, and they might be found to answer domestic purposes like the hen or turkey. Their maintenance would not be expensive, as they subsist entirely on grass.

The celebrated Condor of the Cordillera has been referred both to the species of the eagle, and to that of the vulture. Its great strength, force, and vivacity, are supposed to give it a claim to rank with the former, whilst the baldness of its head and neck is thought to degrade it to that of

the latter. If size, for it is by much the largest bird that flies, and strength, combined with rapidity of flight and rapacity, deserve pre-eminence, no bird can be put in competition with it ; for the condor possesses, in a higher degree than the eagle, all the qualities that render it formidable, not only to the feathered kind, but also to beasts, and even to man himself. It is asserted, that individual condors have been found to measure eighteen feet across the wings, when extended, but the general size seems to be twelve or thirteen feet. The beak is so strong as to pierce the body of a cow, and two condors are capable of devouring that animal. The Indians say they will carry off a deer, a young calf, or a sheep, in their talons, as eagles would a hare or a rabbit ; and there are many instances of children being carried off by them. They seldom frequent the forests, as they require a large space for the display of their wings, but are principally found on the elevated pinacles of the mountains, and occasionally on the sea-shore and banks of the rivers. It is a matter of some doubt, whether this bird is confined to the new world, as has been asserted, or is also a native of other countries, though under different denominations. The great bird called the roc, described by Arabian writers, so much exaggerated by fable ; the large bird of Tarnasser, in the East Indies ; and the vulture of Senegal, which carries off children ; are probably no other than this bird. In the deserts of Pachomac, where it is chiefly seen, men seldom

venture to travel, "These wild regions," says a modern writer, "are sufficient of themselves to inspire a secret horror—broken precipices—prowling tigers—forests only rendered vocal by the hissing of serpents—and mountains rendered still more terrible by the condor, the only bird who has its residence in these desolate places."

Carion vultures are very common, and fly in large flocks; they feed upon the numerous carcasses of the cattle slaughtered for the sake of their hides. They are also of great utility in devouring snakes and other vermin. This bird is full as large as a turkey. Its head and neck are bare of feathers, and of a reddish colour, and the sides of the head are warted like those of a turkey. The plumage of the wings and back is of a brownish black, with a purple and greenish gloss. At first they fly heavily, but afterwards dart up out of sight. On the ground they hop along, apparently with much torpor, though their legs are strong and well proportioned. When they perceive any beast with a sore on its back, they immediately alight on it, and attack the part affected. It is in vain for the poor beast to endeavour to free itself from these devourers, either by rolling on the ground, or by flight; for they never quit their hold, but with their strong and crooked bills they so widen the wound that the creature soon expires. They are called gallinazos by the Spaniards; and there are two or three varieties of them.

The *dispertador*, or awakener, is a singular bird,

which is found all over the country. They have their name from their giving notice to others of the approach of any danger. On hearing the approach of any creature, whether man or beast, they rise from the ground, and make a loud chattering, not unlike that of a magpye, continuing the noise, and flying about in the air over the object that caused the alarm. This is understood by the other birds, who immediately rise, and escape the threatened danger. This bird is about the size of a middling fowl, its plumage is black and white; the head somewhat large, erect, and beautifully adorned with a tuft of feathers; its eyes are large, sharp, and lively; its bill is well proportioned, strong, and a little curved. On the fore part of the wings are two spurs, about an inch in length, of a reddish tint towards the root, and thin points, resembling those of a cock, being very hard and sharp. They make use of them as weapons against other birds, particularly those of prey.

The macagua is a kind of sparrow, of the size of a blackbird, which feeds on snakes, and is not afraid to attack the most venomous. The guirapé, or ringing bird, is remarkable for its note, which is extremely loud, and strongly resembles the sound of a bell. Mocking birds are common in some parts; and there is a very singular bird, described by Ulloa as inhabiting the deserts of the Cordillera. It is called the zumbador, or hummer, and is a night-bird, peculiar to the mountainous deserts. They are seldom seen, but are often

heard, as they make a strange humming noise in the air by the rapidity of their flight, which may be heard at a considerable distance, and when near, is louder than that of a rocket going off. "In moon'light nights," he adds, "when they most frequently make their appearance, we have often watched to see their size, and the celerity of their motion; and though they passed very near us, we were never able to form any idea of their magnitude; all that we could see was a white line, which they formed in their flight through the air, and this was plainly perceivable, when at no great distance. We promised the Indians a reward if they would procure us one; but all they could do, was to get a young one, scarcely fledged, though it was then of the size of a partridge, and all over speckled with dark and light brown spots. The bill was proportionate and straight; the apertures of the nostrils very large; the tail small, and the wings of a size adapted to that of the body." According to the Indians it is with the nostrils that this bird makes such a loud humming.

Of geese there are no less than six varieties. Ducks are also in great abundance and diversity. The other birds are pheasants, partridges of a large size, pigeons, &c. besides eagles, kites, owls, and falcons.

The rivers abound in fish of a great variety of kinds; the principal are the following:

The dorado, or gold fish, which is in great plenty, and is much esteemed. They are very

large, being about six feet long, and some weighing from twenty to thirty pounds each. The flesh is white and firm. The head is reckoned the best part. It is one of the most beautiful, most active, and most voracious fishes of the spinous kind. The eyes are placed on each side of the head, large and beautiful, surrounded with circles of shining gold. The back is enamelled all over with spots of a blueish green and silver; the tail and fins are of a gold colour, and altogether displays an inimitable brilliancy.

The packu is the best and most delicious fish of any in these rivers, and has an excellent taste. It is a thick broad fish like the turbot, of a dark dusky colour, with a mixture of yellow. Its breadth is two thirds of its length. Its scales are very small, and the head is small in proportion to the body. This fish is in high estimation, but is seldom found but in the spring and summer. When salted with care, it may be kept some months dried, but after that time, being very fat, it grows rancid.

Another fish in great esteem, is the corvino, which is only found near the mouth of the Plata, where the salt and fresh water mix together. It is as large as a middle-sized cod, and in shape resembles the carp. It has very large thick bones and broad scales. It is very good either fresh, salted, or dried. At the proper season large quantities of them are taken by the hook, about Mal-

donado and Montevideo, and are sent to Buenos Ayres, and up the rivers.

The *pejereyes*, or king's fish, are a kind of smelt or sparling, which they resemble in colour, shape, and taste, except that the head is very large, and the mouth very wide. Their size is about that of a mackerel. They are in great quantities in the Plata. When the Parana increases in the month of July, they go up that river in vast shoals, a little above Santa Fé, to leave their spawn in the lesser rivers which enter the Parana. The fishermen catch them with hooks in large numbers, cut them open, dry them, and sell them in the adjacent towns. They are of an excellent taste, and their flesh is very white, without any fat. When fresh, they are considered as a great dainty. They must be dried without salt, as it would immediately consume them; and if any moisture comes to them, where they are hung up to dry, they will corrupt.

The *lisa*, in shape, size, and taste, resembles the mackerel; but is not of so beautiful a colour, nor so small near the tail, and the scales are larger. This fish swims no higher than the Plata, where the greatest shoals are to be found near the mouth in the high tides. With the full and new moon they enter in such numbers into the small rivers that empty themselves into the Plata, near its mouth, particularly the Saladillo.

The *savalla* and *boga* are fish like the carp. In the Parana and the Plata, they weigh three or four

pounds. All the rivers of these provinces yield great quantities of these fish, so that they are very cheap, and the inhabitants lay in a great stock of them salted and dried. In eating these fish great caution is requisite, on account of the multiplicity and smallness of their bones. The boga, when fresh, is thought better than the savalla, though the latter is both larger and broader. They are taken by nets.

The dentudo, so called on account of its large and sharp fore teeth, is somewhat inferior to the last. It weighs in general about a pound and a half; but, though well tasted, is seldom eaten, as it has great numbers of dangerous bones. It is a very thorny fish.

The palometa is a small, broad, flat, fish; thorny, but well tasted. It has ugly, sharp, fins, with which it wounds those who take hold of it too hastily. The wound which is made by these fins is very painful, shoots, festers, and inflames in such a manner, that it often brings on a fever, convulsions, and tetanus; so that it sometimes terminates in death.

The Mungrullu is the largest fish found in this river. There are some that weigh a hundred weight. It has a smooth skin of an ash colour, somewhat inclining to yellow, a bony head, rough gums, and a wide swallow. The flesh is of a pale red colour and very firm. It is very strong and heavy in the water, and it requires

very firm tackle, and great strength to take it.

The zurubi is next in size to the mungrullu, and not much inferior. Its head is almost one third of its whole length, and is all bone. It has a very broad flat mouth, and an exceeding wide throat. The skin is smooth, of a white ash colour, spotted like a tiger, with large, round, black spots. Its flesh is white, sound, firm, and well tasted, and it is the best of these fish without scales.

The pati is not of a much less size than the last-mentioned; but has a smaller head and narrower swallow, and has also some flesh upon the head. Its colour is like that of the mungrullu; the flesh is of a yellowish white, and it is esteemed almost as much as the zurubi.

The armado is a thick strong fish with a short body. It is about a foot in length, and generally weighs from four to six pounds. A small part of the belly is cartilaginous, except which the fish is covered with hard thick bone. The head and fore part are covered with plates of bone, extending from the back to the belly, and lapping over one another. Its back, sides, and fins are all armed with strong sharp points, which are so fixed in sockets that the fish can point them in any direction in defence of himself. Having no teeth for defence, nature seems to have compensated that deficiency by bestowing on it weapons and armour of an extraordinary kind. When

taken, it makes a grunting noise, and endeavours to wound ; for which reason it must be stunned before it can be handled with safety. Its flesh is very white and firm.

The rayas, or rays, are so very plentiful in the Parana, that the shallow sand-banks are entirely covered by them. They are of an oval figure, nearly three quarters of a yard in length ; the back is of a dark colour, and the belly white. They are flat, and have the mouth in the middle of the belly, which is the greatest part of the fish, the skirts being very narrow, not above three inches broad, and much thinner than those of our rays. As this is the only eatable part, they are in no esteem. This fish has a long narrow tail, at the root of which, on the back, it has a sharp-pointed bone, which has two edges, rough like a saw, with small teeth, with which it wounds those who approach, or tread upon, it. The wounds made by these bones are sometimes attended with very fatal consequences ; for very frequently the bone is broken in the wound, and can not be taken out, but by an incision very difficult to be performed in the tendinous parts of the feet. The wound then inflames, does not suppurate, and brings on a fever, with convulsions, attended too often with tetanus and death.

The erizo, or water hedge-hog, is very like the armado, but not quite so large. Besides being armed in the same manner, it has a very rough

skin, full of short, sharp, points. Its flesh is not so well tasted as that of the armado.

The vieja, or old woman, bears a resemblance both to the armado, and to the erizo. It is armed with prickles, but they are neither so strong, nor so numerous, as those of the others. Its skin, which is of a mottled grey colour, appears to be full of wrinkles; it grunts like the armado, when taken; and its flesh is very good. They seldom weigh two pounds, and in the small brooks and rivulets they do not weigh more than half a pound.

The bagres, excepting in size, are like the pati. They very seldom weigh so much as a pound and a half. They have a strong pointed bone in each of the fins near the head, and must be handled with caution after they are taken, as they live a long time out of water. Their flesh is soft and well-tasted. They are caught both by nets and by hooks.

Of amphibious animals, turtles are sometimes, but not often, met with; seals, and sea-lions, abound at the isle de Lobos, off Montevideo, as well as in many places along the coast of Patagonia; and alligators, or caymans, are numerous, of a large size, voracious, and destructive, in all the interior rivers.

Innumerable are the tribes of reptiles and of insects, that infest the interior of South America. The damp forests, and rank soil of the borders of the rivers, teem with almost every offensive and

poisonous creature, which the power of a sultry sun can quicken into life; and by the heat, the moisture, and the corruption, of a tropical climate and stagnant marshes, they multiply faster, and grow to a more monstrous bulk than in any other quarter of the globe. But amongst the insects, there are also some of eminent utility, and attention is particularly attracted to one of recent discovery, which, from its production, has received the name of *bombyx papifer*.

It is a worm, called *sustillo* by the Indians, by which a paper, very similar to China paper, is fabricated. This caterpillar is bred in the *pacae*, a species of *mimosa*; and the number of insects is in proportion to the vigour and size of the tree. When satiated with nutriment, they unite at the trunk, seeking the part that is best adapted for their purpose. They there form, with the greatest symmetry and regularity, a web, which is larger or smaller, according to the number of its manufacturers, and more or less pliant according to the quality of the leaves upon which they have fed. They conceal themselves behind this covering, which is of such a texture, consistency, and lustre, as can not be decomposed or tarnished by any practicable expedient. The shape of the web is elliptical, and the worms range themselves under it in even files, forming a perfect square in the centre. Each then makes its cocoon of a coarse and short silk, and successively becomes a *chrysalis* and a moth. In proportion as they quit their

confinement to take wing, they detach, wherever it is most convenient to them, their envelope, a portion of which remains suspended to the trunk of the tree, where it waves to and fro like a streamer, and becomes more or less white according to the dryness or moisture of the air, and to the season and situation. A complete nest was transmitted some time since to the king of Spain, together with a piece of this natural silk-paper, measuring a yard and a half, which is the general size of the webs. They form the most durable, as well as the most beautiful writing-paper that can be conceived.

Of bees, there are innumerable swarms throughout the whole of the country, and their wax and honey form a very considerable part of the interior traffic. There are several varieties of them, but none are reared in a domestic state. Some hive in the trunks of trees, but the most common sort fix their nests upon the branches in a very curious manner. These nests form an oval ball of wax, about the size of an ox-bladder. At its apex is the opening through which the insect enters, and within are cells filled with the purest honey. The wax of which the outer shell is made, is of a coarse and earthy nature, and though the heat of the climate melts the surface, it is so kneaded as to allow for the waste, and to become firmer and harder after a portion has dripped away. In Tucuman, there is a very small bee that builds its nest in holes under ground, and produces a kind

of honey, called alpamisqua, which has an agreeable acid flavour mingled with its saccharine quality.

The cochineal-insect is also met with in Tucuman, where a small quantity of that valuable drug is collected. The opuntia, or nopal-tree, on which it is nourished, is indigenous there, but scarce; it is not cultivated, and the little cochineal that is collected is taken from the woods.

The cameleon grows to an immense size in some parts of the country, and individuals are said to have been seen two or three feet in length. Lizards in great diversity abound in the marshy places. Glow-worms, and fire-flies are common and of a large size; whilst innumerable swarms of musquitos, and of ants, are the troublesome inmates of every dwelling, and of the most secret recesses; and centepees and scorpions, blattæ, wasps, and locusts, add to the many plagues to man amongst the insect-tribe.

In the reptile race, monsters of the most enormous bulk, and serpents of the most direful venom, are met with in numbers. They mostly, however, infest the unfrequented forests, and places to which the settlements of the Spaniards have not yet extended, and snakes are less frequent in the immediate vicinity of Buenos Ayres than in Georgia and the Carolinas.

The enormous snake called by the Indians, in some parts, the jacumama, or mother of water, because it delights in lakes and marshy places; and

by various other names, in others ; has been mentioned by every traveller. Some of these snakes have been seen fifty feet in length, but the largest of which the skin has been brought to Europe, was thirty-six feet in length. From twenty to thirty feet is a common size. From the conformation of their jaws, like other serpents, they can swallow a body of three times the size of their own volume. Like some fish, they appear to have no bounds put to their growth ; their bones are in a great measure cartilaginous, and they are consequently capable of great extension. The older therefore, a serpent becomes, the larger it grows, and as they live to a great age, they attain an enormous size. Their voracity is extreme, and they attack and devour the largest animals. But happily for mankind, their rapacity is often their punishment, for whenever they have gorged themselves, and their body is distended with food, they become torpid and may be approached and destroyed with safety. After having surfeited themselves with their prey, they seek some retreat, where they lurk for several days together, and remain unwieldy, stupid, helpless, and sleepy. The smallest effort is sufficient to destroy them ; they can scarcely make any resistance ; they are equally unqualified for flight or opposition ; and even a naked Indian does not then fear to assail them. They have no venom, but conquer their larger prey by crushing it in their folds ; by turning round and drawing the knot with convulsive

energy, the enormous reptile breaks every bone in the quadruped's body, and devours it at one morsel. They are slow but indefatigable in the pursuit of prey. Though they are, above all animals, the most voracious; and, though the morsel which they swallow, without mastication, is greater than what any other creature, either by land or water, can devour, yet no animals upon earth can bear abstinence so long.* A single meal seems to be the adventure of a season, and is an occurrence which they have been for weeks, nay, sometimes for months, in patient expectation of. The fortunate capture of an hour is often sufficient to serve them for the period of their annual activity. Their prey continues for a long time, partly in the stomach and partly in the gullet, digesting and dissolving by degrees; and, in proportion as the part below is digested, the part above is taken in. It is not therefore till this tedious operation is entirely performed, that the serpent renews its appetite and activity. But it still can continue to bear famine, for weeks, months, nay, even for years together. The serpent-tribe thus unite in themselves two very opposite qualities; wonderful abstinence and incredible rapacity. The breath of

* The fact of living toads being found encased in marble is an inexplicable phenomenon, but can not be considered as a proof of the natural abstinence of the animal, as though those incarcerated toads must have lived for centuries without tasting food, they have always died upon being relieved from confinement and exposed to the action of the air.

this snake is said to possess an attractive and intoxicating quality, by which the smaller animals and birds are either drawn towards them, or fixed motionless untill the unwieldy monster can approach them; and though the exaggerated tales of travellers and Indians may render us reasonably sceptical as to many of the wonderful effects attributed to the noxious nature of its breath; it is not improbable, that it is endowed with some such inebriating quality, as an expedient for the capture of its prey, otherwise, from the slowness of its motion, a matter of difficulty. This appears to be confirmed by a fact observed by an intelligent missionary, who saw a large snake, whose head was of the size of that of a calf, fishing on the banks of a river. The first thing it did was to discharge a large quantity of foam from its mouth into the river; then thrusting his head into the water, he kept it very quiet, till a great number of small fishes were attracted and inebriated by the foam, when, suddenly opening his jaws, he swallowed them at once, and then proceeded to recommence his operation.

The diversity of climate, and variety of aspect, of the many and extended territories which form the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, afford a commensurate profusion and variety in their vegetable productions; and it is not practicable for the most skilful botanist and most active observer to enumerate one half of them: in this work, therefore, it is only some of the most remarkable that can be

described, in which no particular order will be observed, whether the objects under investigation grow on the banks of the Plata, or in the mountains of Peru; in the marshes of upper Paraguay, or on the plains of the Pampas.

The algarova is a large tree, of the size of an oak, that abounds in Tucuman and Paraguay, but to the south it dwindles into a shrub, not more than a yard in height. Its timber is strong, durable, and coarse grained. The leaves are small and scalloped. The flowers are little, of a dingy white, and grow in clusters. They are succeeded by large and long pods, of which there are two kinds, white and black. Before the fruit is arrived at maturity it is strongly astringent; when ripe it is uncommonly sweet, but has a strong unpleasant smell, like that of bugs. The inhabitants make a considerable harvest of this fruit, which they reduce to flour, and sometimes mix it with that of maize: it is then diluted with water for immediate use; but, when intended to be kept, it is not mixed, but being very gummy is pressed into cakes or square boxes. Chica is made of the pods bruised; and a great quantity of proof spirit might be drawn from it. There is another species of this tree, probably the *acacia arabica*, the flowers of which are of a fine yellow, and very aromatic. The pods are thicker, very black, with seeds like lentils, but harder. They have a gummy quality, a strong astringent taste; and with copperas make a very fine black dye. The wood is more firm,

and its colour is of a deeper red. A gum distils from it, exactly similar to the common gum arabic. There is a third sort, not so lofty, the pod of which is of a dull red; it is neither astringent nor sweet, but the natives make a kind of chica of it, with which they cure the lues venerea. Its operation is sudorific.

The molie is a great tree which does not grow more to the south than the province of Tucuman. The timber is of a very fine grain, and extremely beautiful, but very subject to be wormeaten. There are two sorts of it, distinguished by the leaves of one being larger than those of the other. They are both evergreens, and their leaves when bruised, are used to tan the fine goatskin-leather, made in Tucuman. A considerable quantity of gum distils from the trunk, which is used as incense, being very odoriferous. The larger leaved molie bears great plenty of a black fruit, which, when ripe, is inclosed in a pellicle of a very light blue colour. It is about the size of a currant, and sweeter than the fruit of the algarova. Very sweet syrup is extracted from it; and it makes chica much stronger than that of the algarova, both in taste and smell.

The white and red quiabrahacho, or break-axe, so called from their extreme hardness, grow mostly in the forests to the north of Cordova. The former has leaves resembling box, but somewhat larger, with a sharp thorny point; and the timber is also like boxwood, but of a red colour at the

heart. It is very good timber, of a fine grain, but very brittle, hard to work, and exceedingly heavy. The red quiabrahacho has leaves like those of the yew-tree; it grows loftier, and its timber is yet heavier than the other. It is as red as blood, and can only be worked when green, for, after it has been kept some time, it becomes so very hard that no tool can touch it. In hardness and colour it bears so strong a resemblance to red marble, that it is difficult to distinguish them by sight.

The lapacho is a very valuable timber-tree. It is sent to Spain in barks four and five and twenty feet in length, for the use of the oil-mills. It is of a dusky green colour, has a good grain, and is not brittle, but is very hard and heavy. The wild walnut-trees are very large and lofty. Some brought from Tucuman, worked and squared, measured thirty-six feet in length. They bear no fruit. The lanza is a tree so called because the natives make their lances of it. It is of a yellow colour, very strait, is excellent timber, and makes the best possible axle-trees.

The pine-trees, that grow in the hilly parts of Cuyo, are very large and lofty. The timber is solid and hard, very white, and makes excellent masts. The pine-nuts are as big as dates, and have a very slender shell. The fruit is long and thick, with four blunt corners, as big as two almonds. By boiling, the kernels are made into provision for the journies of the natives. Pre-

pared in this manner, they are rather mealy, and taste somewhat like a boiled almond, but not so oily. This tree produces a considerable quantity of turpentine, which dries into a mass harder than resin, but much more clear and transparent, though not so yellow. The Spaniards call it incense, and use it as such; but it has no more fragrance than common resin.

There is a tree peculiar to the country of the Huilliches, which the Indians call lahual, and the Spaniards alerce. It is of the fir-kind, but its most remarkable quality is the convenience with which it may be split into boards. The trunk is marked by nature with strait lines from top to bottom, so that by cleaving it with wedges, it may be parted into very strait planks of any thickness, in a better and smoother manner than if sawn. It grows to a great size, and is reckoned by the Indians the most valuable timber they have, both for beauty and duration. As the climate in which it grows is similar to that of England, it is probable that it would thrive here.

Various medicinal gums exude from different trees. Guaicum, dragon's blood, the balsam of caaci, that called aquaribaigh, and gum isica, are productions of more or less abundance, and of greater or smaller estimation, throughout the woody parts of the country. Valerian, meum, salsaparilla, an aromatic and pungent root called schynant, ginger, and a great variety of others of spontaneous growth, abound in most parts.

And extensive forests of the tree producing the Chinchona, or Jesuit's bark, are found in Los Charcas, and along the Peruvian Cordillera.

The tea, or herb of Paraguay, is the leaf of a species of *ilex*, about the size of a middling apple-tree. It tastes, when green, like mallow-leaves; and in shape it nearly resembles the leaf of the orange-tree. The seeds are like those of the ivy. The leaves are roasted or dried, and almost pulverized, before they are packed up. There are three kinds of it in its prepared state, though produced but by one plant. Caa is the distinctive Indian appellation of the plant; and the three sorts are called caa-cuys, caa-mini, and caa-guazu, the last being denominated by the Spaniards *yerva de palos*. The caa-cuys is the first bud of the leaf, when scarcely developed; the caa-mini is the full-grown leaf stript off from its ribs before roasting; and the caa-guazu is that roasted without any preparation. The caa-cuys will not bear transportation, nor will it keep so long as the other two sorts, which are sent in great quantities from Paraguay to Tucuman, Peru, and Chili. The aromatic bitterness which the herb possesses, when prepared, is more powerful on the spot where it grows, and is partly dissipated by carriage. The principal harvest of this herb is made in the eastern part of Paraguay, and about the mountains of Maracayu, but it is cultivated in the marshy vallies that intervene between the hills, and not on the eminences themselves. The people of South America

boast of innumerable virtues, which they attribute to this plant. It is certainly aperient and diuretic; but the other qualities ascribed to it are doubtful. It is used by infusion. Few of the chapetones use it, but the creoles are passionately fond of it, and never travel without a supply of it. They never fail to drink the infusion at every meal, and never eat till they have taken some of this favourite beverage. It is not drank in the same manner as tea in Europe: the herb is put into a calabash, which is fixed upon a stand, and generally mounted with silver: this they call *maté*. They most usually sweeten it with sugar, but they sometimes add lemon-juice. Boiling water is then poured on it, and it is drank off directly, for, if suffered to remain long, the liquor would become as black as ink. To avoid swallowing the pulverized herb itself, which swims on the surface, they use a silver pipe called *bombilla*, the top of which is perforated with several holes, through which they suck the liquor. A whole party is supplied by handing round the same bowl and pipe from one to another, and filling up the vessel with hot water as fast as it is drank out. The repugnance of Europeans to drink after all sorts of people, in a country where syphilitic diseases are very prevalent, has occasioned the introduction of small glass pipes, with which each person is sometimes provided. In the mine-countries the use of this herb is more particularly universal from the opinion that prevails amongst the

Spaniards, that the wines there are prejudicial to health. Like opium, it produces some singular and contrary effects; it gives sleep to the restless, and spirit to the torpid. Those who have once contracted the habit of taking it, do not find it an easy matter to leave it off, or even to use it in moderation, though, when taken to excess, it brings on similar disorders to those which are produced by the immoderate use of strong liquors.

A shrub grows at the foot of the mountains of Cordova and Yacanto, in other parts of Tucuman, and on the borders of Peru, which either bears a strong resemblance to, or is the same with, the oriental tea-plant. It is imperfectly described as a shrub, growing from three to six feet in height. The leaves are exactly similar to those of tea, and the infusion of them, when dried, has precisely the same qualities; in colour and taste resembling green tea, though not quite so rough upon the palate. In drying it could not be made to twist or shrivel like the Chinese tea. The flowers are blue, and grow in a long spike, like lavender, but are not so well scented. There is another species of it in Chili, the flowers of which are yellow, and do not grow in a spike. The inhabitants of Cordova call the plant *alvan-hacca del campo*, or wild basil, but it bears no resemblance to basil, either wild or cultivated.

The coca is a plant of Peru and Popayan, though a considerable quantity is gathered in the

district of Sicacica. It is the same as the betel of the East Indies, and is used by the natives in the same manner, being chewed with lime. It is prohibited to be used in the northern parts of Peru, but is permitted to all who work in the mines; as it is considered by the Indians as the only means by which they are enabled to support the heavy labour they undergo.

The paramos, or heathy deserts of the Cordillera, produce many plants of great utility; but none more so than the ichu or rushy grass, which forms the chief food of the lamas and pacos. Amongst their other productions are the calaguala, which is celebrated for its virtues. Its height is about six or eight inches, and it spreads its thin stems along the sands, or climbs up the rocks. These stems resemble the fibres of the roots of other plants, being not above two or three lines in their greatest thickness, round, and full of little knots. This plant is of singular benefit for all kinds of abcesses, internal or external. It is administered in a decoction, of which a very little serves, or after bruising, infused in such wines as will best correct its bitterness. In three or four days its good effects are conspicuous, and it must then be left off; for, being extremely hot, it would prove pernicious, if taken in a larger quantity than absolutely necessary. The contrayerva grows in the same places, but is very little sought after in the country. A curious plant is also found there, which is called palo de luz, or torch-wood.

It is commonly about the height of two feet, and consists of several stalks, which proceed from the same root. They are strait and smooth up to the top, whence grow little branches, with very small leaves. These stalks are cut down close to the ground, where they are about three lines in diameter; and being kindled when green, give a light equal to that of a torch; they burn slowly, but should be snuffed with care.

The bejucos are a species of ligneous cordage of great length, and of different dimensions, from the fourth part of an inch in diameter to eighteen inches in circumference. They are very numerous in the interior forests of Los Charcas, and are seen mounting to the tops of the highest trees, descending to the earth, again taking root, and mounting up the next tree, sometimes passing from the top branches of one to those of another; thus communicating from tree to tree to a great distance, in oblique, horizontal, perpendicular, and circular, directions, in inextricable entanglement. Some ascend the trunks of trees in spiral circles, killing them by mere compression; and others are parasitical, and take root in the bark of trees, which are thus weakened, and sometimes destroyed, by the nourishment thus diverted into the bejuco. They are remarkably flexible, and put to many uses.

An extended catalogue might here be given of the numerous indigenous and imported productions, which either grow wild, or are cultivated

with more or less attention, throughout these immense territories; but it must suffice to say, that every variety of tropical and European fruits, pulse, grain, and flowers, are yielded in larger or smaller quantities; and of superior or inferior quality, in different parts, and have been generally noticed in the local descriptions of the provinces and districts.

Before quitting the subject of natural history, the stupendous fossile bones that have been found in different parts of South America, require to be mentioned. Although neither the elephant nor the rhinoceros exist in these regions, bones have been found on the banks of the Rio Tercero, and of the Parana and Paraguay, and in some parts of Peru, which must either have belonged to those animals, or to some of similar, or greater magnitude. It is probable that, upon a more accurate inspection, they will be found to belong to the same extinct species as those found in North America, to which the name of mammoth has been given. Some have supposed these bones to have been human, and thigh bones, ribs, and even skulls, are stated to have been found of the most extraordinary size. Teeth three inches in diameter at the base, thought to be the dentes molares of a human being, were dug up on the banks of the Zarcaranna; and there exists a petrified tooth in the royal cabinet at Madrid, sent from Peru, which weighs five pounds three ounces, and was found in the department of Tarija. In the same district was

dug up a petrified bone, resembling the ulna of a man, which measured six feet and five inches in length. A fanciful theorist has endeavoured to account for the immense size of these relics, by the conjecture that it might be the effect of the repeated supraposition of lapideous substances upon the body which served them as a basis, and exists of the natural size, as the nidus of these strata, in the centre of the petrification.

CHAP. XII.

Historical review of the Spanish colonial commerce
—Trade of Buenos Ayres with Spain—Exports
—Imports—Internal trade with Peru and Chili
—Contraband trade, &c.—Remarks on the ad-
vantages to Britain from the possession of Buenos
Ayres, &c.—Conclusion.

IN discussing the important subject of commerce, it will first be necessary to enter into a short historical review of the trade of Buenos Ayres, and of the policy and regulations of Spain with regard to the commercial intercourse of her colonies.

One of the first objects of the Spanish monarchs was to secure the productions of the colonies to the parent-state, by an absolute prohibition of any intercourse with foreign nations. When the Spaniards first took possession of their dominions in America, the precious metals which they yielded formed the only object that attracted their attention. Even when their efforts began to take a better direction, they employed themselves almost wholly in rearing such peculiar productions of the climate as, from their rarity or value, were of chief demand in the mother-country. Allured by prospects of vast and immediate wealth, they

disdained to waste their industry on what was less lucrative, but of superior moment. This fundamental error was perpetuated and strengthened, by regulations which were designed to prevent them from making any efforts in industry, which might interfere with those of the parent state. The establishment of several kinds of manufacture, and even, at one time, the culture of the vine and the olive, were prohibited in the Spanish colonies, under severe penalties. For all objects of primary necessity, they had to trust entirely to the mother-country. Their clothes, their furniture, their instruments of labour, their luxuries, and even a considerable part of the provisions they consumed, were imported from Spain. The produce of their mines and plantations was given in exchange for these; but all that the colonies received, as well as all that they gave, was conveyed in Spanish bottoms; no vessel belonging to the colonies was permitted to carry the produce of America to Europe; and even the commercial intercourse of one colony with another, was either entirely prohibited, or fettered by many jealous restrictions. This system has been always acted upon with more or less rigour, and it may generally be stated, that all that Spanish America yields is supposed to flow into the ports of Spain, and all that it consumes, to issue from them. No foreigner can enter her colonies without express permission; no vessel of any foreign nation is received into their harbours; and the pains of death, and confiscation

of property, are denounced against every inhabitant who presumes to trade with them. The colonies were thus kept in a state of perpetual pillage; and none was in consequence more injuriously depressed than the establishment of Buenos Ayres. Possessing intrinsically neither gold nor silver, indigo nor cochineal; deprived of every spur to industry and agriculture, it long languished in a state of mediocrity, ill-suited to its important station, and its territorial resources; and had it not been for the fortuitous branch of commerce, which the multiplication of the cattle in its plains offered to the inhabitants, it might have dwindled into total insignificance, or have been wholly abandoned.

No spirit is more adverse to those improvements in agriculture and commerce, which render nations really opulent, than the rage for mining, which prevails in most of the Spanish settlements. Invited by the prospect of acquiring wealth with facility, and encouraged by some striking examples of success in this line of adventure, not only the sanguine and the bold, but the timid and the diffident, enter it with astonishing ardour. The charms of this pursuit, like the rage for deep play, are so bewitching, and take such full possession of the mind as to give a new bent to the natural temper. Under its influence the cautious become enterprising, and the covetous profuse. Powerful as this charm naturally is, its force is augmented by the arts of an order of men known in

Peru by the cant name of searchers; these are commonly persons of desperate fortunes, who, possessed of some skill in mineralogy, accompanied with the insinuating manners and confident pretensions natural to projectors, address the wealthy and the credulous. By plausible descriptions of the appearances they have discovered of rich veins hitherto unexplored; by producing, when requisite, specimens of promising ore; by affirming, with imposing assurance, that success is certain, and that the expense must be trifling, they seldom fail to persuade. An association is formed, a small sum is advanced by each copartner, the mine is opened, the searcher is entrusted with the sole direction of every operation, unforeseen difficulties occur, new demands of money are made, but amidst a succession of disappointments and delays, hope is never extinguished, and the ardour of expectation hardly abates.

Yet in the Spanish colonies government has been studious to cherish a spirit which it should have laboured to depress; and to this may be imputed the slender progress which Spanish America has made, either in useful manufactures or in those lucrative branches of cultivation, which furnish the colonies of other nations with their staple commodities.

But though mines are the chief objects of the Spaniards, and the precious metals which they yield form the principal article in their American commerce, the fertile countries which they possess

abound with other commodities of such value, or scarcity, as to attract a considerable degree of attention. Cochineal, indigo, cocoa, jesuit's bark, hides, sugar, cotton, and dye-woods, are the principal. When the importation into Spain of those various articles from her colonies first became active and considerable, her interior industry and manufactures were in a state so prosperous, that with the produce of these, she was able, both to purchase the commodities of the new world, and to answer its growing demands. Under the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, and Charles V. Spain was one of the most industrious countries of Europe; her manufactures in wool, and flax, and silk, were so extensive as to furnish sufficient both for her own consumption and for exportation. When a market for them, formerly unknown, and to which she alone had access, opened in America, she had recourse to her domestic store, and found there an abundant supply. But the effects arising from the sudden influx of riches destroyed the prosperity which might, under other circumstances, have been expected. The same thing happens to nations as to individuals. Wealth which flows in gradually and with moderate increase, feeds and nourishes that activity which is friendly to commerce, and calls it forth into vigorous and well-conducted exertion; but when opulence pours in suddenly, and with too full a stream, it overturns all sober plans of industry, and induces a taste for what is wild and extravagant in business

and in action. By the extensive projects of ambition, which Philip II. entertained from the high opinion he possessed of his own resources, and by the great and complicated operations he pursued with ardour during a long reign, Spain was drained both of men and money. The weak administration and inconsiderate bigotry of his successor augmented the evil; and early in the seventeenth century, Spain was compelled to contract her operations; her flourishing manufactures were fallen into decay; her fleets were ruined; her extensive foreign commerce was lost; the trade between different parts of her own dominions was interrupted; and her ships were taken and plundered by enemies whom she once despised. Even agriculture, the primary object of industry in every prosperous state, was neglected, and one of the most fertile countries of Europe scarcely raised a sufficiency for the support of the diminished numbers of its inhabitants.

In proportion as the population and manufactures of Spain declined, the demands of her colonies continued to increase; but Spain, thinned of people and decreasing in industry, was unable to supply them; and the manufactures of the Netherlands, of England, of France, and of Italy, which her wants called into existence, or animated with new vivacity, furnished in abundance whatever was required. In vain did the fundamental law, excluding foreigners from participating in the trade with America, oppose this innovation. Ne-

cessity, more powerful than any statute, defeated its operations, and constrained the Spaniards themselves to concur in eluding it. The contraband trade with Spanish America has been a source of wealth to other nations, and even an object of contention and of treaty between them. The English, the French, the Dutch, the Portuguese, and now also the Anglo-Americans, relying on the honour and fidelity of the Spanish merchants, who lend their names to cover the deceit, send their manufactures and produce to the Spanish colonies, and receive the exorbitant price for which they are sold, either in specie or in the rich commodities of the new world. Neither the dread of danger, nor the allurements of profit, can induce a Spanish factor to betray or defraud the person who confided in him; and that probity, which is the pride and distinction of the nation, thus contributes to its impoverishment and decay.

The treasures of the new world may therefore be said not to belong to Spain; before they reach Europe, they are anticipated as the price of goods purchased from foreigners. The fatal effects of the disproportion between their demands and her ability to answer them, have been much increased by the mode in which Spain endeavoured to regulate the intercourse between the mother-country and the colonies. In order to secure the monopoly, at which she aimed, Spain did not vest the trade with her colonies in an exclusive company, a plan which has been adopted by nations more

commercial, and persevered in, in periods when mercantile policy ought to be better understood. But the system which she pursued was fraught with all the errors and defects of exclusive companies, and attended with none of their advantages. The high ideas which she early formed of the riches of the new world, were the occasion of this system. Gold and silver were commodities of too precious a nature to vest a monopoly of them in private hands; and the crown, wishing to retain the direction of a commerce so inviting, ordained the cargo of every ship fitted out for America to be inspected by the casa de la contratacion in Seville, before she could receive a license to make the voyage; and that, on her return, a report of the commodities which she brought, should be made to the same board, before they were permitted to be landed. In consequence of this regulation all the trade of Spain with the new world centered in the port of Seville, till the year 1720, when the galleons and the flota sailed from Cadiz, a port more commodious than the other. For the greater security of the valuable cargoes sent to America, as well as for the more easy prevention of fraud, this commerce was carried on by fleets, annually equipped, which sailed under strong convoys; consisting of two squadrons, one distinguished by the name of the galleons, and the other by that of the flota. These expeditions were made exclusively to the gulph of Mexico, and it was through the ports of Porto Bello and Vera Cruz alone, that

the whole of the dominions of Spain were supplied with European commodities, or found a vent for their own productions. Buenos Ayres, in those times, debarred from all direct commercial intercourse with Europe, remained in obscurity ; and though the contraband trade with the Portuguese of St. Sacrament often interrupted, but always renewed, gave it indeed some degree of activity, it was not till the dawn of a more enlightened policy began to prevail in Spain, that it assumed, in some degree, its appropriate station of a commercial emporium.

The Spanish colonial trade, thus cramped and fettered, came necessarily to be conducted with the same spirit, and upon the same principles, as that of an exclusive company. Being confined to a single port, it was of course thrown into the hands of a few wealthy merchants. These, by combinations and acting in concert, were enabled to raise or lower the value of commodities at pleasure. In consequence of this, the prices of European goods were always high, and often exorbitant. One, two, and even three hundred per cent. were profits not uncommon in the commerce of Spain with her colonies. Instead of furnishing the colonies with European articles in quantities adequate to their consumption at a moderate profit, the merchants of Seville and Cadiz seem to have supplied them with a sparing hand, in order that the eagerness of competition amongst customers, obliged to purchase in a scanty mar-

ket, might enable the Spanish factors to dispose of their cargoes at an excessive profit. About the middle of the seventeenth century, when the exclusive trade to America from Seville was in its most flourishing state, the united burthen of the two squadrons of the galleons and the flota, did not exceed twenty-seven thousand five hundred tons. The supply which that tonnage could carry, must have been very inadequate to the demands of those extensive colonies, which depended upon it for all the luxuries and many of the necessities of life.

But feeble are the barriers of fiscal regulation, and vain the efforts of jealous monopoly, to prevent that mutual supply of wants which nature dictates, and mankind will alleviate, maugre all the restrictions, the dangers, and the difficulties, which may be thrown in their way. From the Antilles on one side, and by interlopers in the South sea on the other, South America was provided in abundance with European commodities, and when the galleons arrived they often found the markets so glutted by this illicit commerce, that there was no demand for their cargoes. The necessity occasioned by political events, in which Spain found herself, to give some kind of access to her transatlantic possessions to foreigners, added considerably to the extent and value of the contraband trade. The English and Dutch, by the superiority of their naval power, had, during the war of the succession, acquired such dominion at sea, as to cut off

all intercourse between Spain and her colonies, and in order to furnish her subjects in America with those necessities, without which they could not exist, and as the only means of receiving thence any part of their treasures, she departed so far from the usual rigour of her maxims, as to open the trade with Peru to her allies the French. The merchants of St. Malo, to whom Louis XIV. granted this lucrative privilege, engaged in it with vigour, and carried it on upon principles very different from those of the Spaniards. They supplied Peru with European goods at a moderate price, and not in a stinted quantity. The goods which they imported were conveyed to every province of Spanish America in such abundance as had never been known at any former period; and this intercourse was deemed so prejudicial, that, at the cessation of the war, the most peremptory injunctions were issued, prohibiting the further admission of any foreign vessels into the ports of Peru and Chili, and a Spanish squadron was employed to clear the South sea of intruders, whose aid was no longer necessary.

But though Spain thus obtained relief from one encroachment on her commercial system, the treaty of Utrecht exposed her to another, which she deemed scarcely less pernicious. As an inducement for Queen Anne to conclude a peace, Philip V. not only conveyed to Great Britain the *assiento*, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, which had formerly been

enjoyed by France, but conceded in addition other valuable privileges, which tended most materially to her injury, and were not abolished but by a subsequent war, which their operation principally occasioned.

The first assiento was made in 1702, with the French Guinea company, for furnishing the Spanish dominions in America with negro-slaves. The number they engaged to furnish was 3800 annually, during the continuance of the war about the succession, and 4800 in time of peace, paying a duty of $33\frac{1}{4}$ piastres for every negro. Destitute of establishments on the coast of Africa, inexperienced in mercantile operations, and participating in the misfortunes that befell their country during a long war, the French were unable to execute any part of their contract. By the treaty of Utrecht, the assiento was transferred to the English, and the South Sea Company undertook to furnish annually during the thirty years, from 1713 to 1743, that their contract was to continue, at least 4800 negroes; they were limited to that number for the five last years of their term, but were allowed for the first twenty-five years to introduce as many as they could dispose of. For the first four thousand of their annual supply, they were to pay the same duty as the French had done, but were exonerated from that on the remaining eight hundred, in consideration of a loan of 200,000 piastres, advanced to the court of Madrid, which was to be repaid in ten years; and,

for all the negroes which they furnished beyond the stipulated number they were to pay one half of the duty ; whilst Philip V. indemnified himself for the sacrifices he made on this occasion, by reserving to the crown of Spain, a right to one-fourth of the net profits to be made by the *asiento*.

But the privilege which swerved most diametrically from the established commercial policy of Spain, was that by which the English South Sea Company were authorized to send annually a ship of 500 tons, and for the first ten years one of 650 tons, to the fair of Porto Bello, and to establish factories for the sale of their negroes at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, and Buenos Ayres. On the Rio de la Plata they were even empowered to erect houses, to take lands on leases in the neighbourhood of their factories, and to cultivate them either by imported negroes or hired Indians. At Panama they were allowed to freight vessels of four hundred tons, for the conveyance of their negroes to the coast of Peru, to equip them, to appoint the officers, and to receive by them their returns either in gold or silver, or in the productions of the country, paying neither duties of import nor of export. The agents of a rival nation, residing in the towns of most extensive trade and of chief resort, had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with the interior condition of the American provinces, of observing their stated and occasional wants, and of knowing what commodi-

ties might be imported into them with the greatest advantage. In consequence of information so authentic and expeditious, the British merchants were enabled to proportion their cargoes, so exactly to the demands, that the contraband commerce was carried on with a facility and to an extent formerly unknown; and, partly by the operations of the company, and partly by the activity of private interlopers, almost the whole trade of Spanish America was engrossed by them. The commerce of the galleons sunk to nothing; the annual squadron dwindled from fifteen thousand to two thousand tons, and served scarcely any other purpose than to fetch home the royal revenues.

Spain observed these encroachments, felt their pernicious effects, and made some efforts to restrain them. Ships of force under the appellation of guarda-costas were stationed on those coasts, to which interlopers most frequently resorted. Some check was by this means given to the progress of the contraband trade, though in dominions so extensive, and accessible by sea, hardly any number of cruisers was sufficient to guard against its inroads in every quarter. This interruption of an intercourse which had been carried on with so much facility, that the British colonies were accustomed to consider it as almost an allowed branch of trade, excited murmurs and complaints. The bickerings and jealousies that ensued, added to several unjustifiable acts of violence

committed by the commanders of the Spanish guarda-costas, at length broke out into hostilities between Great Britain and Spain in 1739, and put an end to the enjoyment of the assiento trade by the South Sea Company.

As the successive formidable encroachments of the merchants of St. Malo, and those of Britain on the American trade had discovered to the Spaniards the vast consumption of European commodities in their colonies, and taught them the advantage of accommodating their importations to the occasional demands of the various provinces, they perceived the necessity of devising some method of supplying their colonies different from the ancient one by periodical fleets. The minister Ensenada succeeded in overcoming the various obstacles and prejudices that were opposed to the innovation, and, in 1740, permitted a considerable part of the American trade to be carried on by register-ships. These were fitted out during the intervals between the stated seasons when the galleons and flota sailed, by merchants in Seville or Cadiz, upon obtaining a license from the council of the Indies, for which they paid a very high premium, and sailed to those ports in America, where any extraordinary demand existed or was foreseen. By this expedient, a more regular supply was conveyed to the American market, and interlopers were not so much allured by prospects of excessive gain. Buenos Ayres received a portion of the benefit arising from this

regulation ; and an accession of population and prosperity also accrued to the settlement in 1740, by the disasters which had befallen a considerable squadron of Spanish men of war, which had been dispatched to repel the attacks of the British under commodore Anson, but which, unable to double cape Horn, buffeted and discomfited by the elements, were, for the most part, compelled to put into the Plata, in a shattered and disabled state, whilst only one of the vessels composing the squadron was enabled to return to Spain. The troops and crews of this squadron settled in the country, an opportunity of being recalled being denied them, from the interrupted and precarious nature of the intercourse existing at the time between Buenos Ayres and Spain.

In proportion as experience manifested the advantages of prosecuting the trade by register-ships, their number was increased, and in 1748 the galleons and the flota were laid aside after having been employed for two centuries ; and periodical fleets have only been since resorted to by Spain in time of war, and when the protection of strong convoys has been deemed necessary. That year was also marked by a pacification between Great Britain and Spain, by which the assiento trade was restored to the English, but the South Sea Company was induced by an indemnification offered to them to give up the four remaining years of their term ; and Spain was left at liberty to regulate the commerce of her colonies without

being restrained by any engagement with a foreign power.

At Buenos Ayres, however, the British factory for the furnishing of negroes was continued, under the cover of a Spanish name, by the wealth and enterprise of Robert Mayne, an eminent London merchant, whose family have till lately occupied a distinguished place amongst the merchants of Cadiz. By the infidelity, or the negligence, however, of his agents at Buenos Ayres, the trade declined, the profits ceased, losses accrued, and in 1752 he was compelled to abandon his establishment, and the supply of negroes to South America fell into other promiscuous hands.

Of the nature of the trade as then carried on between Buenos Ayres and Spain, an idea may be formed by the following estimate of the value in Europe of the cargoes dispatched from the Plata from 1748 to 1753. These were calculated at an annual average of 1,620,752 piastres : of which

| | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------|------------------|
| Gold in ingots to the amount of | piastres | 282,352 |
| Silver, coined and uncoined | - - - | 700,000 |
| 300 quintals of vicunna-wool | - - - | 38,400 |
| 150,000 hides | - - - - - | 600,000 |
| total | - | <u>1,620,752</u> |

It is only the last item that was the proper production of the country, the rest coming from Peru and Chili; but the whole being on account of the merchants, and nothing for the king.

In the same years, Spain received from Lima for

the whole of Peru, to the annual average value of 5,697,151 piastres: of which

In gold - - - - piastres 850,776

In silver - - - - 3,828,455

————— 4,679,231

31,000 quintals cocoa - 600,000

600 do. Jesuit's bark - 38,400

470 do. vicunna-wool 60,000

10,850 do. copper - - 150,020

10,600 do. tin - - - 169,500

————— 1,017,920

total - 5,697,151

Of the gold and silver, 300,000 piastres were on account of the king, 3,596,691 on account of the merchants, and 782,440 on account of the clergy and civil and military officers of government.

Of the other articles, 255,846 piastres were on account of the king, and 762,074 on account of the merchants.

In the eleven years, from the 1st of January, 1754, to the 31st December, 1764, the quantity of gold and silver received by Spain from Buenos Ayres, was,

2,142,626 piastres in gold,

10,326,090 do. in silver,

and from Lima, 10,942,846 piastres in gold,

24,868,745 do. in silver,

Whilst Spain adhered with rigour to her ancient maxims relative to her American commerce, she was so much afraid of opening any channel by which an illicit trade might find admission into the colonies, that she almost shut herself out from any intercourse with them but by her periodical fleets. There was no establishment for the regular communication of intelligence, either public or private, and Spain often received from foreigners her first information with respect to very interesting events in her own colonies. But in the year 1764 packet-boats were appointed to be dispatched every month from Corunna to the Havannah or Porto Rico, and every two months to Rio de la Plata. With this new arrangement, a scheme for extending commerce has been also connected. Each of the packet-boats, which are vessels of some considerable burthen, is allowed to take in half a cargo of such commodities as are the product of Spain, and most in demand in the ports whither they are bound, and, in return for these, they may bring home an equal quantity of American productions. This may be considered as the first relaxation of those rigid laws, which confined the trade with the new world to a single port; and it was soon followed by one more decisive. In 1765 the trade to the windward islands was laid open to every province of Spain, and this privilege was soon after extended to Louisiana, Yucatan, and Campeachy. The year 1774 was the epoch of another judicious innovation; the in-

terdiction which existed on the commercial intercourse between several of the American provinces was taken off, and most of them were allowed that free intercourse which is indispensable for the supply of mutual wants, and for the participation of local advantages. In fine, in 1778, under the ministry of Galvez, more material alterations were made, and seven of the principal ports were permitted to engage in a free trade with Buenos Ayres and the ports of the South Sea. The benefit of these innovations was soon perceived and acknowledged, and was successively increased from that time to 1788, by the admission of five other ports to the same privileges, whilst, in 1785, the free trade was extended to the Spanish colonies in general.

These measures, together with the establishment of the separate vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres in 1778, also a measure of the same minister, gave importance and stability to that settlement; and the following tables will shew the progressive increase of the imports and exports derived from the extension of the benefits of a free trade.

Previously to 1778 no more than twelve or fifteen registered vessels were engaged in the colonial trade to South America, and these seldom performed more than one voyage in three years, but in that year, the first of the establishment of these new regulations, one hundred and seventy vessels were freighted for South America, with cargoes, of which the value in British money, di-

stinguishing the amount in Spanish and in foreign produce, were as follows: viz.

| Ships. | From | Value of Spanish produce. | Value of Foreign produce. | Duties paid. |
|--------|----------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| | | £. | £. | £. |
| 63 | Cadiz - - - | 332,701 | 922,543 | 66,926 |
| 25 | Corunna - - | 69,691 | 66,826 | 7,184 |
| 23 | Barcelona - - | 163,290 | 52,513 | 8,384 |
| 34 | Malaga - - - | 85,637 | 12,927 | 3,618 |
| 13 | St. Andero - - | 19,128 | 99,807 | 7,666 |
| 3 | Alicant - - - | 5,299 | 2,308 | 328 |
| 9 | Teneriffe - - | 30,165 | — — | 1,735 |
| 170 | | 705,911 | 1,156,924 | 95,841 |

The imports into Spain, from South America, in the same year were

| Ships. | To | Value of cargoes. | | Duties paid. | |
|--------|----------------|-------------------|----|--------------|----|
| | | £ | s. | £ | s. |
| 57 | Cadiz - - - | 860,257 | 2 | 24,388 | 7 |
| 21 | Corunna - - | 683,328 | 6 | 43,386 | 10 |
| 25 | Barcelona - - | 107,713 | 15 | 1,931 | 15 |
| 10 | Malaga - - - | 24,745 | 14 | 119 | 15 |
| 8 | St. Andero - - | 114,852 | 9 | 1,680 | 6 |
| 8 | Alicant - - - | 29,895 | 13 | — — — | |
| 6 | Teneriffe - - | 43,164 | 4 | 2,779 | 18 |
| 135 | | 1,863,957 | 3 | 74,286 | 11 |

In 1788, the exports to, and imports from, Spanish South America were

| Ports. | Spanish produce exported. | Foreign produce exported. | Total value of exports. | Value of colonial im- ports. |
|---------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | £. | £. | £. | £. |
| Seville - - | 95,276 | 14,342 | 109,618 | 3,249 |
| Cadiz - - | 2,281,311 | 3,038,346 | 5,319,657 | 18,382,886 |
| Malaga - - | 318,801 | 33,684 | 352,485 | 296,738 |
| Barcelona - | 742,210 | 52,083 | 794,293 | 886,162 |
| Corunna - | 249,838 | — — | 249,838 | 2,040,400 |
| St. Sebastian | 9,114 | 79,488 | 88,602 | 283,888 |
| Alfaquez - | 21,610 | 360 | 21,970 | 6,231 |
| Gijon - - | 1,544 | 28,300 | 29,844 | 16,052 |
| St. Andero | 127,072 | 281,949 | 409,021 | 657,398 |
| Alicant - | 13,564 | 815 | 14,379 | 15,878 |
| Palma - - | 14,972 | — — | 14,972 | 6,852 |
| Canaries - | 55,264 | 32,991 | 88,255 | 71,586 |
| | 3,930,576 | 3,562,358 | 7,492,934 | 22,667,320 |

So that the imports in that year exceeded the exports by the sum of £15,174,386.

In 1788 the duties on the exports and imports amounted to 1,386,423*l.* 14*s.* whereas in 1778 they produced only 169,032*l.* 5*s.*

Notwithstanding these alleviations, the commercial regulations of Spain, with respect to her colonies, are too rigid to be carried into complete execution. The legislature that loads trade with impositions too heavy, or fetters it by restrictions

too severe, defeats its own intention, and only multiplies inducements to violate its statutes. The Spaniards, both in Europe and America, being circumscribed in their mutual intercourse by the jealousy of the crown, or oppressed by its exactions, have their invention continually on the stretch how to elude its edicts. The vigilance and ingenuity of private interest discover means of effecting this, which public wisdom can not foresee, nor public authority prevent. This spirit, counteracting that of the laws, pervades the commerce of Spain in all its branches, and descends from the highest departments in government to the lowest. The very officers appointed to check contraband trade are often employed as instruments in carrying it on, and the boards instituted to restrain and punish it are the channels through which it flows. The king is supposed, by the most intelligent Spanish writers, to be defrauded, by various artifices, of more than one half of the revenue which he ought to receive from America; and it has been accurately calculated that, notwithstanding the sacrifices made by government in the arrangements of 1778, and the subsequent years, the interloper has, upon an average, an advantage over the licensed trader of sixty-four per cent.

The importation of negro-slaves to the settlements on the Plata, which, since the failure of Mayne in 1752, had been precarious, was, in 1765, attempted to be supplied by a company of

Spanish, French, and Genoese merchants, established at Cadiz, to whom an *assiento* was granted; but, ill-conducted, or betrayed by their servants and factors, notwithstanding considerable relief granted them by the Spanish government in 1773, their operations languished and became ineffectual; so that, in 1778, the crown having obtained the cession from the Portuguese of two of their islands on the coast of Africa, took the Guinea-trade entirely into its own hands; in which it is believed to have continued ever since, notwithstanding in 1791 permissions, upon the payment of adequate premiums, were granted both to Spanish and to foreign merchants, to import negro-slaves into the ports in the Plata, and to export certain of the productions of the country in return. In 1793, the exportation of salted meat and tallow was allowed duty free. By these, and other similar encouragements, the agriculture and industry of the provinces adjacent to Buenos Ayres have been considerably advanced, and their population increased. In 1792, no less than 825,609 hides were shipped for Spain alone, exclusive of those which were taken by such slave-ships as had sold their cargoes there, in pursuance of the permission mentioned above.

In 1796, the imports and exports of Buenos Ayres were as follows:

From Old Spain there arrived, 35 vessels from Cadiz; 22 from Barcelona, Malaga, and Alfacez; 9 from Corunna; 5 from St. Andero; one

from Vigo, and one from Gijon; in all 63 vessels, the value of whose cargoes was 2,853,944 piastres, of which 1,705,866 were in Spanish produce, and 1,148,078 in foreign articles.

From Havannah, two ships brought

| | | | |
|--------|----------------------|----------------------|------------|
| 22,159 | arobes of sugar | } valued together at | } piastres |
| 239 | casks of brandy | | |
| 212 | jars of honey | | |
| 258 | arobes of cocoa | | |
| 1,864 | arobes of white wax* | | |
| 750 | varas of acana-wood | | 123,562 |

From Lima and Guyaquil, two ships brought

| | | | |
|--------|---------------------|----------------------|----------|
| 10,975 | arobes of sugar | } valued together at | } 50,154 |
| 200 | salt-stones | | |
| 1,472 | arobes of cocoa | | |
| 816 | arobes of rice | | |
| 378 | pounds of cinnamon† | | |
| 990 | pounds of indigo | | |

From the coast of Africa, 1350 negro-slaves were imported in four Spanish and five foreign ships.

On the other hand, there sailed from Buenos

* Though Paraguay and Tucuman produce great quantities of wax and honey, so little has industry been encouraged, that even the simple process of bleaching wax is seldom resorted to, and what is wanted for the tapers and services of the church, it appears, is imported from other places.

† The cinnamon of Peru has been asserted to be the same with that of Ceylon, but the pungency of its flavour, and other differences, assimilate it to that called Chinese cinnamon, or *cassia lignea*.

Ayres, 26 vessels for Cadiz; 10 for Barcelona, Malaga, and Alicant; 11 for Corunna, and 4 for St. Andero; the cargoes of which consisted of,

| | | |
|--|----------|-----------|
| Gold, coined and uncoined, to the value of | piastres | 1,425,701 |
| Silver - - - do. - - - | | 2,556,304 |

| | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 874,593 ox-hides in the hair | } valued together at | |
| 43,752 horse-hides | | |
| 2,541 tanned hides | | |
| 222 doz. sheep-skins | | |
| 24,436 fine furs | | |
| 46,800 arobes of tallow | | |
| 451,000 ox-horns | | |
| 2,128 quintals of salt beef | | 1,076,877 |
| 185 do. of salt pork | | |
| 11,890 goose-wings | | <u>5,058,882</u> |
| 771 arobes of vicunna-wool | | |
| 291 do. of guanaco-wool | | |
| 2,264 do. of common-wool | | |
| 3,223 quintals of copper* | | |
| 4 do. of tin | | |

* This copper comes principally from Chili, though there are a few mines on the east-side of the Cordillera, in Tucuman, and Cuyo. Notwithstanding the abundance of copper in Peru and Chili, no copper money is coined in the Spanish settlements. An attempt to introduce a copper coinage was made in 1542, but was abandoned, and has never since been renewed, as the natives, in less than a year, contemptuously buried, in the rivers and lakes, more than a million of piastres of that currency. A preposterous idea has prevailed amongst the Spanish politico-economists, that the introduction of copper money would debase the value of that

To the Havannah, fourteen vessels sailed with

| | piastres |
|------------------------------|--|
| Gold - - - - - | 24,060 |
| 252 doz. sheep-skins | <div> <div></div> <div>valued together at</div> <div></div> </div> |
| 323 fine furs | |
| 13,600 robes of tallow | |
| 69,050 quintals of salt meat | |
| 280 goose-wings | |
| 190 robes of wool | <div> <div></div> <div>136,050</div> <div></div> </div> |
| | <div> <div></div> <div>160,110</div> <div></div> </div> |

To Lima and Guyaquil were exported

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| 1,680 robes of tallow | <div> <div></div> <div>valued together at</div> <div></div> </div> |
| 238 negro-slaves | |
| 2,094 hoes | |
| 620 pounds of thread | |
| 42 doz. pair silk hose | |
| 120 hats | <div> <div></div> <div>67,150</div> <div></div> </div> |

To the coast of Africa two foreign, and nine country ships, were dispatched with,

| | piastres |
|------------------------|---|
| In money - - - - - | 159,820 |
| And in goods - - - - - | 24,703 |
| | <div> <div></div> <div>184,523</div> <div></div> </div> |

The amount of gold and silver therefore exported from the Plata, was 4,165,885 piastres, and as there were 4,600,000 piastres coined in the

of gold and silver; the want of small coin has consequently been very much felt, and to remedy it in some measure, the expedient has of late been adopted of coining *quartillos*, or fourths of reals of silver, being about the value of 1½d. sterling.

same year at Potosi,* about 434,000 piastres seems to have been retained for the circulating medium of the colony.

In the following years, however, the involvement of Spain in hostilities with this country produced a considerable change; and in 1798, trade had become so stagnated that above three millions of hides were lying in the warehouses at Buenos Ayres and Montevideo. Many kinds of European goods were totally wanting or had risen to excessive high prices. In particular a great want was felt of European linen, and the stuffs manufactured from cotton in the country or brought from Peru, were substituted in lieu of it. Above a million of ells of these stuffs were sold at Buenos Ayres for the consumption of the country in that year. Such as came from the country of the Chiquitos and the Moxos were most in request. Brandy and Spanish wines were not to be procured

* The following statement of the whole produce of the Spanish mines in America, is given in the written report of the viceroy Don Francisco de Taboada y Lemos to his successor the marquis of Osorno, in 1796:

| | piastres. | | piastres. |
|----------------------|------------|--------------------|------------|
| Coined at Mexico - - | 24,000,000 | North America } | 24,200,000 |
| at Guatimala - - | 200,000 | | |
| at Lima - - | 6,000,000 | | |
| at Potosi - - | 4,600,000 | South America } | 14,000,000 |
| at Santiago de Chili | 1,200,000 | | |
| at Popayan - | 1,000,000 | | |
| at Sta. Fé de Bagota | 1,200,000 | | |
| Total | | | 38,200,000 |

at any price, which encouraged the manufacture of the wines of Cuyo, and induced attempts at distillation in the country. This stagnation of trade was, however, much relieved by the contraband traffic which the Anglo-Americans entered into; and their supplies were found so indispensable, that they were either connived at, or openly encouraged, by the government to bring European goods as well as slaves, and to take the productions of the country in return. With more or less interruption, and with greater or smaller profits, the subjects of the United States have traded with Buenos Ayres for the last six years; and the accumulated stock of hides which was so much complained of in 1798, was reduced at the time of the capture of the settlement, to little more than the annual average supply.

A very extensive internal traffic is carried on between the various provinces of the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, and with Peru and Chili. That in the herb of Paraguay is one of the most important branches of it. The profits arising from the cultivation of this plant formerly belonged to the Jesuits; but since their expulsion are in the hands of the crown, and are estimated at an annual amount of 500,000 piastres. The crown sells all the herb that is collected to the merchants of Buenos Ayres; but the latter receive also occasional supplies from the Indians themselves, who bring it to the capital, and exchange it for the commodities they want. Such, however, is

the great demand for it, that a year's crop is generally bespoke, and those who trade in it must wait their turn of delivery. Traders come sometimes across the mountains from Peru and Chili to buy it, who must wait two years before they can return, and in order to make a fair bargain for the ensuing crop presents of considerable value are given to the agents for the crown. These, who supply the place of the Jesuits, take in exchange goods of various kinds, to the amount, it is estimated, of nearly one million of piastres. Knives, scissars, ribbands, silks, hose, baize, hats, and coarse woollen-cloths, are the principal articles which they dispose of to the Indians from whom the herb is obtained. Though the herb is principally bought by the merchants of Buenos Ayres, it is not to that place that it is carried; no more being sent thither than is wanted for the consumption of its inhabitants and those of the vicinity; but the greatest part is dispatched to Santa Fé and Cordova, thence to be forwarded direct to Potosi and Mendoza. The quantity exported to Peru is estimated at 100,000 arobes, and to Chili 40,000. The remainder is consumed in Paraguay, Tucuman, and the other provinces. It is conveyed in parcels of six or seven arobes, by waggons from Santa Fé to Jujui, and thence by mules to Potosi, La Paz, and into Peru proper. About four piastres per arobe is the price in Paraguay, and at Potosi it fetches from eight to nine, and more in proportion as it is carried farther.

Large droves of cattle and mules are sent from Buenos Ayres and Tucuman into Peru. They are both lucrative branches of trade. A licence to deal in either must, however, first be obtained from the viceroy, and a handsome consideration given for his permission. A speculation in cattle is conducted in the following manner:—Persons who make it their trade engage to furnish the speculator with eight or ten thousand head of cattle, at from three to four piastres a head, and then go into the country, and either purchase oxen from the inhabitants who keep estancias, or catch wild cattle with their nooses, till they can deliver the number agreed on; these are then conveyed to Salta, and thence, by easy journies, into Peru, where they are worth eight or ten piastres a head, and have incurred little expence in the conveyance, except that of the drivers, food being abundant on the road through the greatest part of the way.

Mules, which are reared in great numbers in the province of Buenos Ayres, are bought by factors from the interior, who bring timber, wax, honey, and other articles to market. Sixty thousand mules of two years old are annually purchased for Peru, and cost between three or four piastres a head. They are driven by easy journies to Salta, where they winter, and are taken great care of. When in good condition they are conducted to Potosi, where they sell for eight, nine, or ten piastres a head; and such as are carried farther into Peru fetch higher prices, and some

as much as forty and fifty piastres. A constant supply of mules is necessary for the work of the mines, as those who go thither are generally short-lived, on account of the hardness of the labour, the bad roads, and the want of proper pasture. Tucuman furnishes Peru with a number of mules, which are particularly esteemed; also from sixteen to eighteen thousand head of cattle and four or five thousand horses, annually. Santa Cruz de la Sierra furnishes twenty thousand mules every year to Peru.

The balance of trade between the vice-royalties of Peru and of Buenos Ayres, is stated to amount to a million of piastres in favour of the former. No regular maritime trade can be said to be carried on between them, although occasionally, and particularly in time of war, one or two vessels have been sent from Callao to Montevideo, laden partly with cocoa and Jesuit's bark, intended for reshipment to Cadiz, and partly with sugar, honey, and cloth manufactured in the country, for consumption in the interior. A vessel has also been now and then sent from Montevideo to Arica, to supply the mines situated in that district with quicksilver, by which tallow and the herb of Paraguay have been shipped, but in no great quantities; and these can not come into calculation in an annual estimate. By the inland commerce in 1789, the productions introduced into the jurisdiction of Buenos Ayres by the departments of Arequipa and Cusco, and through the intermediate stations

of Potosi and Chuquisaca, amounted to the sum 2,034,980 piastres. Of this sum, 1,300,475 piastres belonged to the province of Arequipa, for brandies, wines of the growth of the vallies of Locumba, Mages, and Victor, maize, wheat-flour, cotton, oil, pimento, sugar, and other articles of less import; and the remaining 734,505 piastres belonged to the intendency of Cusco, for baize, and other woollen manufactures, sugar, grain, &c. In return, Arequipa received from Buenos Ayres the amount of 389,260 piastres in cattle, jerked beef, wool, tallow, cocoa, copper, tin, &c.; and that of Cusco received the amount of 475,530 piastres in mules, sheep,* black cattle, hides, wax, soap, tallow, baizes, &c. But the augmented importation into the Plata, of European goods in the succeeding years, tended much to diminish the supply required from the maritime districts of Peru, and to reduce the balance of trade to a very inconsiderable surplus. The war, however, and the interruption to commerce and stagnation occasioned by it, again favoured the traffic of Peru, the annual balance of whose exports to the provinces under the jurisdiction of Buenos Ayres, above the imports thence, may now be reckoned at four or five hundred thousand piastres.

This balance arises from the circumstance that the provinces, which, in 1778, were annexed to

* In the year alluded to, 1789, one hundred and twenty thousand sheep were imported by the route of Cusco, from the jurisdiction of Buenos Ayres into that of Peru.

Buenos Ayres, being the principal mine-countries, are both more populous, and more sterile, than the surrounding districts, and therefore require a considerable larger quantity of productions than they can give in return, their gold and silver excepted, in which metals that balance is consequently paid.

Cordova, Salta, and Jujui, enjoy considerable benefit from their situation on the main route from Buenos Ayres to Peru; and many of the inhabitants apply themselves to the carrying trade. These furnish the carretaas, which are generally drawn by four oxen, and sometimes by more, and carry fifty quintals, travelling twenty miles a day. The carriage to Jujui from Buenos Ayres, by these conveyances, is reckoned at four piastres per quintal: at Jujui, mules are substituted, and a fresh agreement must be made with the owners of the mules, who make their charge according to the season of the year, the necessity of the occasion, or the scarcity or abundance of mules at hand. Corn, wax, honey, and a few cotton cloths, manufactured in the neighbourhood, are sent from those towns to Potosi and Peru, and gold and silver is taken in return. Potosi also consumes a large quantity of the herb coca, which is chiefly produced in the district of La Paz, and the trade in that article, at the town of that name, has been estimated at an annual average amount of two hundred thousand piastres.

The inhabitants of Potosi and the other mine-

countries are supplied with many of their chief articles of consumption from the fertile districts of Tarija. From Santiago de Cotagaita they receive charcoal for the smelting of the metal, and this branch of traffic is very profitable. From Vitoche they draw leather of an excellent quality, made from goat-skins, and in imitation of the Spanish; and from San Bernardo maize, wheat, swine, and timber. The province of Tarija furnishes about ten thousand head of black cattle annually, which fetch from eight to ten piastres each. These are driven successively to the province of Cinti, the inhabitants of which slaughter them, and tan the hides, furnishing Potosi, Chuquisaca, and the surrounding departments, with sole-leather to a considerable amount: the value of each of the tanned hides is reckoned at four piastres. The district of Cochabamba supplies an equal quantity of tanned hides. Tarija consumes annually upwards of sixty thousand piastres in Spanish and colonial merchandise.

The trade between Chili, or rather the province of Cuyo, and Buenos Ayres, is by no means so considerable as that with the Peruvian provinces, but is nevertheless worthy of notice. It is principally from Buenos Ayres that Cuyo, and some parts of Chili, are supplied with European articles; all the negro slaves also come from Buenos Ayres, and to these are joined of the productions of the country, wax, tallow (of which soap is made at Mendoza, and sent from Concepcion and Valpa-

raiso to Peru), mules, cotton, and the herb of Paraguay. In return, Chili and Cuyo send to Paraguay woollen stuffs, particularly ponchos, ready made ; the wine of Mendoza, which is much esteemed, though it is turbid, and sometimes acquires an unpleasant flavour from the goat-skins in which it is conveyed ; a small quantity of brandy, and some oil ; dried grapes and peaches, apples, tobacco manufactured into snuff, and a little sugar ; a considerable quantity of copper from Coquimbo, and gold ; some cordage is also brought from Chili, which is the only part of Spanish America where hemp is manufactured, though it grows wild in several other districts.

With the unsubdued Indians around them in every direction, the Spaniards carry on traffic, whenever they are at peace ; with more or less activity, and exchange various European goods of utility or ornament, knives, scissars, cutlasses, razors, beads, looking-glasses, woollen and cotton stuffs, brandy, &c. for the different products of the country ; from the Indians on the confines of the districts of Guayra, Uruguay, and Parana, they get considerable quantities of the herb of Paraguay and several fine furs. Lately, some gold of a very fine and pure quality has been brought to Buenos Ayres by those Indians, who contrive with considerable ingenuity to exchange it in a contraband way with the American merchants or other foreigners whom they meet with. This gold is supposed to be collected amongst mountains and upland springs on the banks of the Uruguay ; but it

is kept a profound secret amongst the few Indians who are acquainted either with the existence of the metal, or with the clandestine mode of bartering it away. The Indians on this side travel many hundred miles through the Spanish territories to barter their commodities at Buenos Ayres and other places; and some also come from amongst the Pampas tribes; but more generally, Spanish adventurers, or the Indians in subjection, carry into the interior their articles for barter. From the Pampas Indians they buy horses and cattle, furs, guanaco-skins, and sometimes their own children for slaves. The good faith of the Indians in their transactions particularly appears from the following account given of the mode in which a trade for cattle, &c. is carried on with the Puelches. The adventurer who engages in this traffic, on his arrival in the tribe, repairs to the cacique, and presents himself before him without saying a word: the cacique begins by saying, "So you are come;" the Spaniard answers, "Yes, I am come." Then the cacique says, "What have you brought me?" the answer is, "A present of wine," of clothing, or some other article as it may be. The cacique then bids the stranger welcome, and provides him with a lodging near his own residence, where all his wives and children then go to bid him also welcome, expecting each a present, which, however trifling, must be given them. In the mean time the cacique causes a horn to be sounded, to advertise his dispersed subjects of the

arrival of a merchant with whom they may trade ; they flock around at that signal, and examine the goods which are brought, and which consist of knives, hatchets, combs, needles, thread, looking-glasses, ribbands, &c. The best articles would be wine and brandy, but they are dangerous to deal in, as, furnishing them the means of immediate intoxication, little safety would be found amongst them, for in their excesses they even often kill one another ; besides, the disorders which arose from the introduction of wine and brandy amongst these Indians, and the ravages they committed, occasioned a wise regulation to be made in Chili, in the year 1724, by which the sale of wine and brandy to these Indians was prohibited ; a restriction which it would be desirable to see more extended. When the barter is agreed on, the Indians take away their goods without paying, and the merchant thus delivers all his goods without knowing any one of his debtors, and without seeing many of them, as those who come to his tent buy not only for themselves, but also for their neighbours. After a reasonable time, the Spaniard wishing to return, the cacique causes his horn to be again sounded, which is a signal for payment to be made. Each then brings in faithfully what has been agreed upon ; and the cattle, in which the purchases principally consist, are driven by Indians sent for the purpose as far as the frontiers of the Spanish territory.

The contraband trade which is carried on be-

tween the Portuguese of Rio Janeiro and Bahia, with the Spanish settlements on the Plata is not inconsiderable. About forty vessels of two hundred or two hundred and fifty tons each are engaged in it; but though the distance is so small, the indolent manner in which the voyage and its concomitant operations are conducted, often occasions a period of twelve or eighteen months to elapse before it is brought to a final issue. These vessels take from Brazil salt, sugar, earthen-ware, and European goods, chiefly British and German, together with a trifling quantity of rum, the greatest part of which they dispose of, the salt excepted, to the Spaniards of Maldonado and Montevideo, for silver. During this traffic in the towns, the crews are employed along the coast in slaughtering the cattle, which they either purchase or catch, and preparing the hides and beef; the latter is cut into thin slices, about two feet in length, which are salted and dried in the sun and smoking-houses. On their return, this jerked beef, which is loaded in bulk, is sold on board by retail, and purchased principally by the lower classes of the inhabitants, and for the use of the slaves and shipping. By disposing of a cargo in this manner, instead of landing it, a vessel is detained five or six months in port, which is one cause of the extraordinary long duration of their voyages. The Spaniards themselves sometimes send vessels loaded with jerked beef in bulk to their West India islands, where it sells well, and might be

a source of a very lucrative trade, if prosecuted with activity and intelligence.

The Anglo-Americans have of late, as before said, and since the commencement of the war, frequented the Plata; principally and ostensibly bringing slaves, but likewise introducing considerable quantities of European and other articles; and taking in exchange, openly hides and tallow, and underhand silver in coin. As by a law of the United States, no American vessel may carry slaves to any foreign port under penalty of confiscation, these expeditions were conducted in a circuitous manner, so as not to leave any clue for the discovery of the infraction of the law. From North America these vessels took a cargo for an European market, the proceeds of which were invested in the purchase of such commodities as were necessary to obtain a few slaves, as well as for the indirect trade with the Spaniards. They then proceeded to the coast of Africa, and seldom took a greater number of slaves on board than was requisite to entitle them to an entry at Buenos Ayres or Montevideo. On their arrival in the Plata, the open trade in negroes, and the clandestine one in goods, were jointly carried on, and speedily terminated; when the vessel, principally loaded with hides and tallow, prosecuted her voyage to an European port, most generally Amsterdam or Hamburgh, where she sold her cargo, and took in another on freight, bringing back, as a remittance to her owners, the silver obtained

from the Spaniards, enough to pay for her first outward investment, and to leave a profit adequate to the accumulated risks and extraordinary duration of the voyage; whilst the clearance outwards, and the entry inwards, could neither discover the existence, nor the object, of an intermediate voyage, which, if known, would have confiscated both vessel and cargo.

From what precedes it will appear evident that the resources of this extensive and valuable colony have been very ill understood, and greatly neglected by its late possessors; only a few of its principal productions formed articles of export, and many remained wholly unsought after, or impolitically discouraged. Those articles, which have been hitherto considered as objects of export from Buenos Ayres, are confined to the following:—hides, both horse and cow, of a quality superior to any other, principally in the hair, but a few tanned; tallow, which from the slovenly mode of its preparation, more than from any inferiority of quality, is better calculated for the manufacture of soap than for other uses; horns, and horn-tips; beef, both jerked or dried, and salted; dried tongues; salted pork; sheep-skins; wool; horse-hair; furs of different kinds, some very fine, but in small quantities; a few seal-skins; and some sugar, tobacco, and cocoa, have of late been cultivated and exported, but in small quantities, and of inferior qualities. These are the productions of the country immediately bordering on the Plata,

in the vicinity of Buenos Ayres, or easily accessible from it. From the interior provinces, and from Peru and Chili come gold, silver, and copper; vicunna-wool, in no inconsiderable quantities; wool of the lama, or guanaco; a little cochineal; and some Jesuit's bark; but it may here be observed, that these articles can not be depended on as objects of trade, until some understanding prevails between the British at Buenos Ayres, and the governors in the interior, as to their reciprocal wants; or until the British arms penetrate to the frontiers of Peru, an event, which from the impracticability of great part of the route, and the extent of territory to be subdued, seems to be of little speedy probability. Besides augmenting the quantity, or amending the quality, of several of the items of the above meagre catalogue of exports, many other articles might, and, in the event of the colony remaining in our hands, probably will, be added; an increased vent, and the encouragement to agriculture and commerce, which it is the enlightened policy of this country to afford to all her conquered settlements, may add not only some of those productions which are already yielded, and hitherto only employed in the interior consumption of the country, but also others that have as yet neither been resorted to as objects of external commerce, or of interior utility. To the former class would belong: wheat, rice, maize, all produced in abundance in various fertile parts of the colony; salt, from the numerous salt-springs, and

beds of rock-salt that extend for many hundred miles; saltpetre; wax and honey; figs, pimento, and ginger; cotton, and the indigo manufactured in some parts of Tucuman. To the latter, coffee, flax, hemp, olive-oil, *lignum vitæ*, and various kinds of hard wood; gum *guaicum*, dragon's blood, and several other medicinal gums; *valerian*, *salsaparilla*, *contrayerva*, &c. If an intercourse is established with the interior provinces, the jesuit's bark, much less of which is gathered than the country produces, an increased quantity of cochineal and indigo, the cinnamon of Peru, bezoar-stones, and goatskin leather, would be objects worthy of mercantile attention. Platina, the scarcity of which metal, in Europe, is not so much to be attributed to the paucity of the quantity yielded, as to the strict regulations of the Spanish government, by which it was enacted, some years ago, that no platina should even be exchanged or used in the country, much less sold or exported abroad, might, by an intercourse with the mine-countries, be procured in sufficient quantities to render its valuable qualities more generally useful. It may also be worth an experiment, whether the herb of Paraguay, or any other substitute for tea, if the tea-shrub itself does not exist in the country, as has been supposed*, could be introduced into the consumption of Europe, in which case a very valuable source of commerce would be immediately

opened, which, however it might interfere with the interest of the East India Company, could not fail to be of general national benefit. The cheapness and excellence of the horses of Buenos Ayres may, too, induce some spirited adventurer to try the practicability of importing them in vessels adapted for the purpose into this country ; and it is not to be doubted that the mules, whose strength and utility are so well adapted for the West Indies, would form a most advantageous speculation to be sent to our islands, accompanied perhaps both by live cattle and horses. Vessels constructed in the manner of the New England lumber-ships, would be requisite for this purpose.

After enumerating what articles may be expected to be obtained at Buenos Ayres, a detail of those which are adapted to form investments thither, will shew that shipments to that colony may comprehend an extensive range of British produce and manufactures, together with some articles of foreign or East India importation ; but it will be necessary to point out, at the same time, such as might be, and have been, erroneously supposed to be adapted for the market.

Though salt is yielded in large quantities in the country, yet it is scarcely procurable at Buenos Ayres in sufficient quantities, or of a proper quality for the curing of provisions ; those vessels, therefore, that intend to ship in return salted beef, ought to take salt out with them ; and none is to be had better or cheaper than what is shipped

from Liverpool from the Cheshire salt-works*; it is to be observed that, though the surplus beyond what may be wanted for curing beef, will find a ready sale, yet it is not likely that it would yield much profit, and it is also probable that the salt of the country may, ere long, be brought to supersede the necessity for taking out any for that purpose. Bar-iron, both round and flat, may be sent in considerable quantities, but little or no unmanufactured steel; tin-plates; iron nails of every sort and size; brass and steel wire; sheet and bar-lead, and shot; hardware and cutlery of all kinds, knives, scissars, razors, cutlasses, macheats, hoes for agriculture, adzes, saws, axes, &c. Staffordshire, and other earthenware, not however, many crates of tea-cups, or other tea-equipage, though most other descriptions of cream-coloured, chintz, edged, enamelled, and blue-painted, earthenware, may go in any quantities, especially plates and dishes, bowls, basons, and ewers; some of the Worcester china, and Wedgwood's ware, will sell well; and of English china, tea and coffee things may be shipped in a less sparing manner than of coarser earthenware; chocolate-cups and fine painted and gilt vases for flowers, are articles of luxury that will be found to be in considerable request; glass-ware

* The price of common salt, duty free, for exportation at Liverpool, is, from 5d. to 5½d. per bushel, which, with the canal-freight from the salt-works, 2s. per ton, commission and other charges, makes the invoice-cost amount to 6½d. or 7d. per bushel.

of most kinds, particularly window-glass and green bottles, tumblers, goblets, and wine-glasses, but very few decanters ; a model of the glass-pipes that are used for imbibing the infusion of the herb of Paraguay should be procured, in order to make such as would suit the consumption ; stone jugs and bottles are a good and cheap investment ; but pipes of no description ought to be sent, as both Spaniards and Indians invariably use segars ; London bottled porter, and the best kinds of ale, are great rarities, and much esteemed ; a great want of brandy, and of European wine, prevails in the colony, but it is not likely that those articles can be shipped with advantage from this country ; probably Jamaica rum would answer, if laid in at a moderate rate ; stationery ; jewellery and watches, but none of them, nor any trinkets, of false metal ; the watches should all be gold ; no counterfeit article will answer ; no false jewels, or paste of any sort ; and every thing of that kind that is sent will be a total loss, for nothing but gold, silver, and real jewels, will be looked at ; good fowling-pieces, a few of them mounted with silver ; shot-bags and powder-horns may do ; carriages, saddlery, and cabinet work were usually imported from Spain, but it may be feared that the English mode of manufacture of those articles, may not, perhaps, be equally approved of by the inhabitants, who are bigots in habits, as well as in religion ; a few saddles and bridles, however, should be sent for a trial, to supersede the clumsy articles of that kind, in

tise, and will, at all events, find a vent amongst the British officers, and settlers who may be established there ; indeed it may generally be observed, that a moderate stock of such articles as may not be vendible amongst the Spaniards, or native inhabitants, and which are more peculiarly adapted to the habits of the English, may be considered as required for the consumption of the description of persons, here alluded to, yet the supply of such articles must be dealt with a sparing hand, at least till a more considerable British population exists there than will be the case in this early stage of possession. To return to the list of goods, adapted for the general consumption of the country, the next that occur are articles of clothing ; of these, English broad cloth, principally of the finer kinds, and of more brilliant colours than suit the sober dress of the English themselves, occupy a distinguished place ; bays, serges, and kerseymeres ; also carpeting ; muslins, cambrics, lawns, linen, gauze, musquito nets, ribbands, India silks, sarsnets, taffeties, silk stockings, but none of cotton, and most light articles of female dress, coloured and printed cottons, dimities, handkerchiefs, cotton-furniture prints, &c. ; hats of most kinds, from coarse negroe hats, to fine beaver ; ladies straw hats have been recommended to be tried, and this manufacture, which has of late been carried on in this country to a considerable extent, deserves more particular encouragement, as adding to one of the few branches in which the industry of helpless females may be

exerted for their own maintenance, and for the benefit of the community; straw shoes, which have an elegant, and perhaps, a shewy, appearance, though much approved of by the English ladies who have tried them, for their lightness and ease in the summer season, will probably, from the severity of the weather here in some seasons, and its variability at all times, not become a permanent object for use in England, but it is scarcely possible to conceive any thing better adapted to serene, clear, warm, or hot climates, and they have therefore, with much propriety, been advised to be tried as a speculation to Buenos Ayres: boots and shoes, especially ladies silk and fine coloured leather shoes; artificial flowers, and ornamental feathers; and fine gold and silver lace and fringe are sure to be of ready sale; British laces should also be tried, and perhaps may be made to supersede those made in the country, which, though coarse and ill made, are of very great use amongst the female sex; beads for the Indians, especially sky-coloured, which is their favourite colour, and worsted, dyed of the most brilliant colours, are in much demand for traffic with the natives; paints of most kinds, particularly vermilion; East India spices; gun-flints; sail-cloth; checks; umbrellas; combs; looking-glasses; cast iron pots, camp-ovens, and fire-dogs, &c. &c. all swell the list, and may be shipped with advantage.

Considerable judgment, however, is requisite for making up a complete assortment for this nearly

untried market; and the main point to be kept in view is, that it must be made to suit the inhabitants of an ancient colony, opulent and luxurious, who will pay well for articles that strike their fancy, or assimilate with their habits, but will with difficulty be brought to adopt such as are unknown to them, or repugnant to their customs.

The advantages to be derived to this country from the possession of Buenos Ayres, in a commercial point of view, may, in some measure, be appreciated from what precedes. It is the emporium whence the whole of the interior of Spanish South America, excepting the sea-coast of Peru and Chili, must be supplied with an innumerable variety of European articles. But at the same time it must not be disguised, that unless a communication can be opened with the interior provinces, neither will there be any considerable quantity of our goods disposed of, nor will the treasures, and richer commodities of those parts, flow into our commerce. The indispensable wants, however, of a population, though not thickly sown, yet numerous, from the extended regions it occupies, can scarcely fail to promote this object. The interruption that must, from our maritime superiority, be given to any communication round Cape Horn, between Spain and Peru, will also tend to make the inhabitants of that viceroyalty, and of Chili, look to the channel of the British established at Buenos Ayres, for their supplies; and the advantageous situation of that city, on a river which

constitutes the only inlet to all the provinces under its jurisdiction (excepting the insignificant port of Atacama, on the Pacific ocean, and which may more properly be said to belong to Peru) must render its commercial prerogatives permanent, and unchanged by any political events. It flourished even under the torpid influence of an absolute, jealous, and illiberal government ; under one of an opposite description, it will, no doubt, rise to a pitch of opulence and prosperity commensurate with its natural advantages.

The determination, not only implied, but expressed, of the French ruler, to shut us out from all communication with the continent of Europe, and the war of confiscation which he carries on against our manufactures, and the produce of our colonies, though probably impotent to destroy, or even to diminish, in any considerable degree, their consumption, in the countries under his sway, may by some be considered in the most serious light; to these let the acquisition of Buenos Ayres, and the opening it affords for the supply of the whole of South America, be a consolation to repel their gloominess of apprehension. Whilst we have the command of the seas, our manufactures will form a chief object in the consumption, and in the trade, of the most distant nations, nor need we repine at a partial and temporary exclusion from a few ports in the north of Europe, whilst our manufactures are coveted and consumed in every other quarter of the globe. The North Ame-

rican States, it has been thought, are increasing their manufactures, and will take less of our's in consequence. It is very improbable that they can attain any excellence in manufactures, so as even to supply their own consumption, whilst they form an agricultural nation; and if any decrease has been observed in the supply of British goods to that continent, it may, with more justice, be attributed to the reluctance that British merchants feel to afford that credit to those of North America, which a more punctual attention to mercantile good faith, than is generally found amongst them, would entitle them to, than to any want of orders for goods, from America, unexecuted reams of which every merchant trading to that part has, no doubt, lying in his desk. But for this decrease, if any, a compensation also will be found in South America, and the proverbial good faith of the Spanish traders will leave no similar grounds of complaint, to those, which, it is to be said with regret, certainly do exist with respect to their northern neighbours.

The importance of the acquisition of Buenos Ayres, both in a commercial and political point of view, seems to have been intuitively felt by the whole nation. In the event of a peace, so much to be wished for, but apparently at so great a distance, it is scarcely possible to conceive what equivalent could be offered for its restoration; but it must be some weighty consideration, some mighty equipoise, that can counterbalance its prepon-

derating importance; and such as, deprived of “ships, colonies, and commerce,” our implacable enemy can scarcely have it in his power to offer. The restoration of a puppet-king or two on the continent of Europe, to the pageantry of a crown under the tutelage of France, can not, as long as she possesses the power of deposing them again at will, be, in any shape, the slightest compensation for such solid advantages as Britain will be required to give up, if the restitution of the Dutch and Spanish conquered colonies is to be the principal object of a treaty of peace. It can not indeed be affirmed, that no case or conjuncture can occur, in which it may not be good policy to relinquish the important acquisitions of Buenos Ayres and the Cape of Good Hope to the general interests of the state; but the minister who advises such a measure must feel the high responsibility he will incur to the people of England, and be prepared to shew the strongest necessity of the sacrifice, or the most obvious advantages of the considerations for which they may be given up. Viewing it, in the first instance, solely in the light of a heavy weight to be thrown into our scale in negotiations for peace, the subjugation of this valuable settlement is of the utmost importance to assist in controuling the ambitious career of the ruler of France: but considering it, as it is not improbable to remain, a permanent acquisition, it will assume a higher value, and will not suffer in comparison with any

territorial conquest gained at any time by the British arms, and secured to the empire by treaty.

The vast regions to which the Plata is the sole inlet, are, as will have appeared in the preceding pages, far from being fully explored ; much is yet wholly unknown, and the value of what is known ought not to be computed by what it yielded to indolence, and to a policy which for ages bound the Spanish settlements in the strictest fetters, both as to commercial benefits and interior improvement, and which had made but very few efforts to break through the dark clouds of jealousy and ignorance with which it was enveloped.

One advantage which it has been calculated would arise to the maritime interests of Britain from the possession of Buenos Ayres can not, however, exist in any considerable degree, till the fortress of Montevideo has been reduced, and its excellent port rendered accessible to our shipping. Till that is the case, the Plata will not afford the asylum and place of refreshment which has been supposed for our ships sailing round Cape Horn, to the South Seas, and to China ; nor till then can it supersede the harbour of Rio Janeiro, in affording a fit station for refreshment, on some occasions, to the East India fleets and others, bound on distant voyages. When Montevideo, however, falls, our possessions on the Plata will be found to obviate the necessity of any vessels putting into Brazil, and submitting to the jealous incivility,

and excessive extortion, with which they have of late been treated in the Portuguese ports.

As long as we remain ignorant of the further progress of our arms in South America, it is scarcely possible to form any conclusive opinion as to the future station which Buenos Ayres may assume; but as we can not perhaps well spare a sufficient military force to maintain possession of any considerable extent of country, it is not improbable that the policy will be perceived of acquiring first a firm and solid footing on the banks of the Plata alone; and when we have the possession of both sides of the estuary, and of both banks of the Parana, as high perhaps as Santa Fé, of ceasing from every attempt at farther territorial conquest, but, in lieu of hostile menaces, to hold out the olive-branch conditionally to the inhabitants of the interior. From the history of the country which has been given, it will have appeared, that the colonists have repeatedly proceeded from turbulent commotion to open rebellion against the Spanish government, and it is well ascertained that the utmost discontent prevails amongst them, and that in most of their colonies the creoles wish and wait, only for an opportunity of throwing off that yoke, which the haughtiness of the chapetones, and the provoking preferences given to the latter as before explained, have rendered intolerable. From the predisposition of the colonists in Paraguay, the exertion of a seasonable and well-managed policy might produce the

establishment of an independent state in the interior of South America, protected, fostered, and supplied by Britain, from which our commercial and manufacturing interests will derive advantages equal to those that would accrue from territorial possession, whilst neither men nor money would be wanting to maintain a military force, or an expensive civil establishment, which we should necessarily be compelled to support in the event of the hostile reduction of so widely an extended country.

The possession of these advantageous stations at the mouth of the Plata, would enable us to protect, and influence, the whole of South America, and Peru and Chili would probably soon follow the example set by the colonies of the interior provinces of Paraguay. The maintenance of a considerable military force, however, at Buenos Ayres and Montevideo, will be an object not only of importance, as shewing both the power to protect and the means of resistance, but also one of expedience, inasmuch as such garrisons would be stations for seasoning our soldiers for other climates, and particularly for the West Indies, in the same manner as the Cape of Good Hope is, or may be, for the East. The Cape and Buenos Ayres lie in nearly the same degree of south latitude, and no two places could be pointed out more eligible for such purposes; the one for the voyage to hither India, and the other for those round Cape Horn to New South Wales and

China. The salubrity of the climate, though warm, would form our regiments gradually to such habits of constitution as would bear the hotter sun of our West India islands, and secure them from the ravages which too frequently accompany their direct importation into Jamaica, and the other islands, from Great Britain.

A flourishing British colony on the banks of the Plata would be able to supply our West India islands with many of the necessary articles that are drawn from North America, even at the expense of an alarming suspension of our navigation-laws. Live stock and salted provisions might be sent in any quantities; but no spot adequate to the supply of lumber has hitherto occurred to rival the southern states in their short and profitable voyage to the West Indies with that indispensable commodity.

The abolition of the infamous traffic in slaves, now so laudably persevered in by the British, has given occasion to many predictions of the total ruin of our West India colonies, and their reversion to their original state of woods and morasses. This assumption is grounded on the twofold most incongruous supposition, that the negroes, if left to themselves, under such regulations for the maintenance of their race in the islands as might be deemed expedient, would either become so numerous as to become the masters, and so expel the whites, or that their population would dwindle and die away, and the islands be lost for want of hands to

cultivate them. It would be easy to combat these gratuitous assertions, both by argument and by the example of the Danish sugar-islands; but the discussion is foreign to the present subject, and is introduced principally to point out, that in the most disastrous result that can be imagined with regard to our West India possessions, those which we may secure in South America would afford ample compensation to the state at large. There is no article of colonial produce, which Buenos Ayres, and the other provinces, which through this key are accessible either to our arms or to our policy, do not actually yield, or might be made to yield in the utmost abundance; whilst the temperature of the climate is such as to supersede the necessity of cultivating the land by African labourers. Those negroes that are found at Buenos Ayres are only kept for the purposes of ostentation and luxury, nor are they ever either employed in the interior provinces, or in Peru, either in the labour of the mines, or in agricultural pursuits. Free and voluntary labourers could be employed, because the mildness and serenity of the climate would insure health even to European cultivators, and afford abundant returns. The fertile plains of Buenos Ayres might be made to yield an ample profit to the capitalist who embarked in their cultivation; and the activity and spirit of enterprise, which so tempting an occasion would call forth, in the event of the settlement being retained at a peace,

would produce comfort and prosperity to the inhabitants, and a large revenue to the government.

The tide of emigration, which has so long flowed from the highlands of Scotland and the north of Ireland to the United States of America, has lately been attempted to be turned, with partial success, towards Canada, by the beneficent and public-spirited exertions of Lord Selkirk. An asylum equally eligible with Prince Edward's Island might be found for these emigrants on the banks of the Plata; and in process of time these widely-extended, fertile, but uncultivated plains, might swarm with a hardy population, from those sources which are now principally lost to the British empire, and which it is the political duty of the legislature to reclaim. Emigration ought not to be restricted; it is the natural consequence of the increased population which is manifest in Great Britain, but it ought to be directed, as much as possible, to the advantage of the state, and such encouragements held out as will draw the emigrants to strengthen the old, or form new settlements, belonging to the British empire.

The veil that yet hangs over the fate of South America, either as being likely to be subjected in a great measure to this country, or to be raised into independent existence, to which the spirited but ill-supported efforts of an individual of talent are directed on its northern shores, renders further discussion premature, and perhaps visionary. In

conclusion, however, it may with confidence be asserted, that the retention of Buenos Ayres and its adjacent settlements, by Britain, if to be rendered compatible with the general interests of the state, will form an epoch in our commercial and political history on which posterity will dwell with pleasure ; and that British industry and enterprise, exploring all the resources of this vast region, will improve them to their utmost extent, blending the advantage of individuals with an incalculable augmentation of the wealth, the power, and the security, of the empire.

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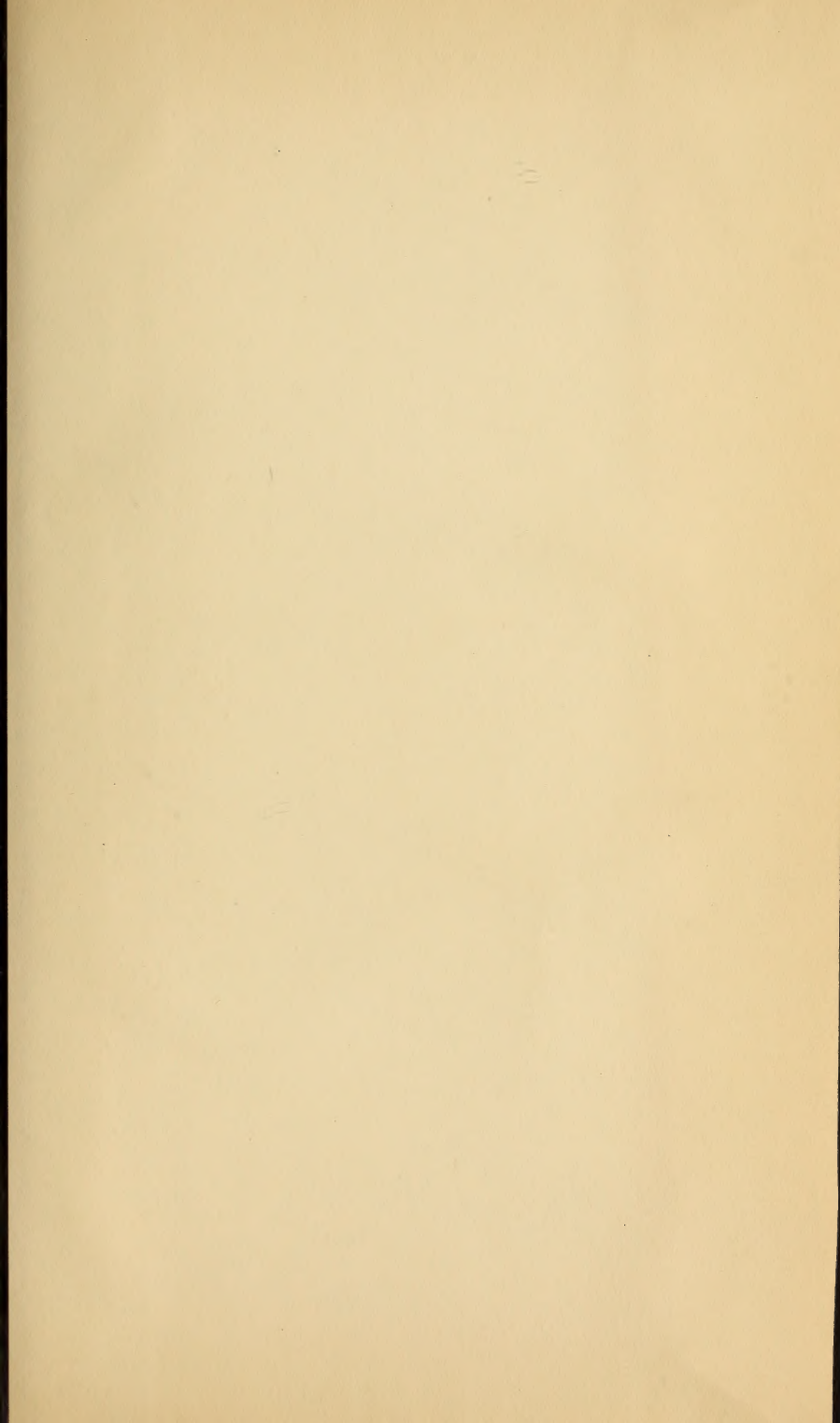
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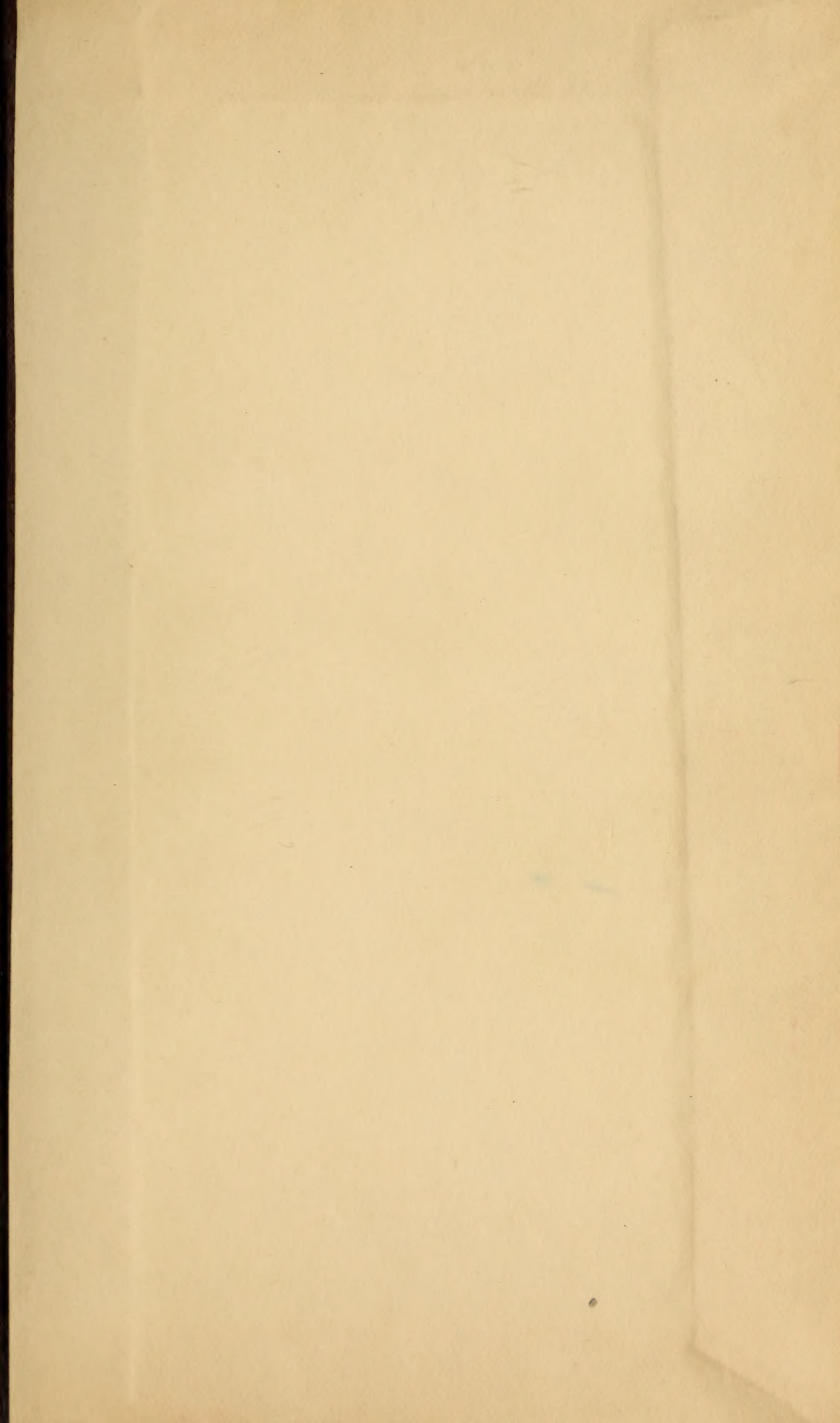
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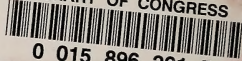
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